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TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY

SIXTY YEARS' MARCH OF THE REPUBLIC

REVISED EDITION, BASED ON THE CENSUS OF 1890

BY

ANDREW CARNEGIE

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1893

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TO THE

BELOVED REPUBLIC

UNDER WHOSE EQUAL LAWS
I AM MADE THE PEER OF ANY MAN,
ALTHOUGH DENIED
POLITICAL EQUALITY BY MY NATIVE LAND,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK,

WITH AN
INTENSITY OF GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION
WHICH THE NATIVE-BORN CITIZEN
CAN NEITHER FEEL NOR
UNDERSTAND.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

PREFACE

AFTER reading the first edition of this book our universally lamented friend, the late George William Curtis (peace to his ashes!), kindly wrote me a congratulatory letter, ending, however, with the story of a friend who, having settled in Southern California, had written him such glowing accounts of the new El Dorado, each letter fuller of sunshine than its predecessor, that he had finally asked his friend in response, "what had become of the shadows?" I never learned what the enthusiastic Californian replied, but my reply to the delicate hint was: "My dear friend, Triumphant Democracy was written at high noon, when the blazing sun right overhead casts no shadows." So it was, and the edition for this decade, as I hope readers will not fail to discover, is just as open to the criticism which our lamented friend so gently intimated. (There are, in my opinion, too many, Britons and Americans, whose chief mission in life and keenest delight seems to be to croak about, disparage, abuse, and even libel their respective countries.) The most despicable character I meet in my travels is the American who, for the special delectation of his foreign hearers, exaggerates the shortcomings of his country. Of course everything in the Republic is not perfect. But neither is everything perfect in any land or even in the sun. We are continually reminded that even that glorious luminary has its spots,

but what we are prone to forget is that no one would know of these except for the brightness of the shining orb. This book is not intended either to describe or dilate upon the spots upon our national sun. It is written by a grateful and intense admirer of the Republic, its institutions, and its people. It is the brightness of the sun I seek to show. If any one desires to regale himself with a view of the "spots," he has not far to seek. Numerous writers have striven to satisfy this craving by proving that these are so great as to eclipse the brightness, and therefore that there is nothing good in their country. I am not of them. That these people find perfection in other lands is to be attributed to lack of intimate knowledge. They know only the faults of their own country and little of the condition of others.

The scope of this book is to show what we have to be thankful, for and not what we have to lament as compared with other aggregations of the human race elsewhere in this work-a-day world. If anything in the world had reached perfection we should have reason to fear the speedy extinction of our planet. As far as I know, there is upon this score no great reason for immediate apprehension.

Born a subject of the Monarchy, adopted a citizen of the Republic, how can it be otherwise than that I should love both lands and long to do whatever in me lies to bring their people to a like affection for each other! The lamentable ignorance concerning the new land which I have found even in the highest political circles of the old first suggested to me how delightful the task would be to endeavor to show something of what the Republic really is, and thus remove, at least in part, the misconceptions

which still linger in the minds of many good people of Britain. I believed, also, that my attempt would give to Americans a better idea of the great work their country had done and is still doing in the world. Probably few Americans will read this book without being astonished at some of the facts elicited. During its progress I have been deeply interested in it, and it may truly be regarded as a labor of love—the tribute of a very dutiful and grateful adopted son to the country which has removed the stigma of inferiority which his native land saw proper to impress upon him at birth, and has made him, in the estimation of its great laws as well as in his own estimation (much the more important consideration), the peer of any human being who draws the breath of life, be he pope, kaiser, priest, or king—henceforth the subject of no man, but a free man, a citizen!

It is to the people, the plain, common folk, the Democracy of Britain, that I seek to show the progress, prosperity, and happiness of their child, the Republic, that they may still more deeply love it and learn that the government of the people through the republican form, and not the government of a class through the monarchical form, is the surest foundation of individual happiness and of national growth.

To the whole body of Americans I have been anxious to give a juster estimate than prevails in some quarters, of the political and social advantages which they so abundantly possess over the people of the older and less advanced lands, that they may be still prouder and even more devoted if possible to their institutions than they are; and I have, also, been no less anxious that the influence of every page of this book might be to incline the

American to regard with reverence and affection the great parent people from whom he has sprung, from whose sacrifices in the cause of civil and religious liberty he has reaped so rich a harvest, and to whom he owes a debt of gratitude which can never be adequately repaid.

The work once decided upon, I naturally obtained all preceding books bearing upon the subject. As the pile of reference books, census reports, and statistical works lay around upon tables and shelves, the question suggested itself, "Shall these dry bones live?" I hope, therefore, indulgent readers, that you will not be warranted in accusing me of giving too much solid information. I have tried to coat the wholesome medicine of facts in the sweetest and purest sugar of fancy at my command. Pray you, open your mouths and swallow it in small doses, and like the sugar, even if you detest the pill. One word, however, to the critical statistician, and let this be very clearly understood: although designedly written in as light a style as I am master of, no liberties have been taken with facts, figures, or calculations. Every statement has been carefully verified and re-verified; every calculation has been gone over and over again. My readers may safely rely upon the correctness of every statement made. Considered as a book of reference, what is herein stated is under rather than over stated.

I have been deeply indebted in the preparation of this edition to Professor Hamlin, of Columbia College, and Mr. E. W. Morse, who have contributed data and information in their respective branches, in which each is an authority.

The whole has been under the supervision of my friend, Robert P. Porter, Superintendent of Census, and of his assistant, Mr. George B. Edwards, of whose services

I find it difficult to speak, because I scarcely know how to do so adequately. Without their assistance it would have been impossible for me to publish the book at this time.

And now, if I have succeeded in giving my countrymen on either or both sides of the Atlantic even a small amount of information about the Republic of my love, or brought them nearer together in the bonds of genial affection, or hastened by one hour the day in which the separated parts of our race in Britain and America shall once again become a united nation, I shall have received an ample reward.

A. C.

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TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

THE REPUBLIC

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more;
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.
And I will have never a noble,
No lineage accounted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute the state."
—EMERSON'S *Boston Hymn.*

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."—MILTON.

WHAT the republican poet thus saw with prophetic vision, the American citizen beholds in reality—he himself being a constituent part of the wonder. It is only half a century since a few of the far-sighted men of Europe began to discern the coming fulfilment of Milton's glorious dream. The Republic made little impression on the older lands until 1850, when the census revealed how

enormously she had gained in population and wealth, not only from the increase of her own people but from the flocking of the people of other lands to her favored shores. In 1840 she was still too far behind the principal nations of Europe to claim place among them, but her career since then has been such that at every succeeding decade she has overtaken one after another. In 1850 she passed Austria. In 1860 it was her motherland to whom she held out her hand lovingly as she swept on. In 1870 she overtook and passed France. In 1880 she had outstripped the German Empire; and now, in 1890, she is left without a competitor to contend with her for supremacy except giant Russia. All the others she has left behind. Another decade, and the sound of the rushing Republic close behind will astonish even Russia, with its eighty-six millions in Europe. Yet another decade, and it, too, like all the rest, will fall behind, to watch for a time the new nation in advance, until it forges so far forward as to pass beyond her ken, when five hundred millions, every one an American and all boasting a common citizenship, will dominate the world—for the world's good.

In wealth, in annual savings, in banking and in public credit; in freedom from debt, in agriculture, in commerce, in manufactures, and in mining, America already leads the world.

France, with her fertile plains and sunny skies, requires a hundred and sixty years to grow two Frenchmen where one grew before. Great Britain, whose rate of increase is greater than that of any other European nation, takes seventy years to double her population. The Republic has doubled hers four times within the century.

In 1831, Great Britain and Ireland contained twenty-

four millions of people, and fifty years later (1881) thirty-four millions. France increased, during the same period, from thirty-two and a half to thirty-seven and a half millions. The Republic bounded from thirteen to fifty millions. England gained eleven, France five, the United States thirty-seven millions! Thus the Republic, in one half-century, added to her numbers as many as the present total population of France, and more than the present population of the United Kingdom. Think of it! The population of Great Britain and Ireland called forth from the wilderness, as if by magic, in less than the span of a man's few days upon earth, almost

> "As if the yawning earth to heaven
> A subterranean host had given."

During the past ten years (1880 to 1890) more than twelve millions were added to her numbers. The increase of all the rest of the English-speaking race was just about one-third as great. The United Kingdom increased only two million six hundred thousand; Canada only half a million; the whole of Australasia—New Zealand, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, all included—a little over one million. Thus does the ever-expanding gap widen between her and other lands. Truly the Republic is the Minerva of nations; full-armed has she sprung from the brow of Jupiter Britain. The thirteen millions of Americans of 1830 have now increased to sixty-five millions—more English-speaking people than exist in all the world besides; more than in the United Kingdom and all her colonies, even were the latter doubled in population!

Startling as is this statement, it is tame in comparison

with that which is to follow. In 1850 the total wealth of the United States was but $8,430,000,000 (£1,686,000,000); that of the United Kingdom exceeded $22,500,000,000 (£4,500,000,000), or nearly three times that sum. Forty short years sufficed to reverse the positions of the respective countries. In 1890 the Monarchy was possessed of a golden load of no less than ten thousand five hundred millions sterling. Just pause a moment to see how this looks when strung out in figures; but do not try to realize what it means, for mortal man cannot conceive it. Herbert Spencer need not travel so far afield to reach the "unknowable"! He has it right here under his very eyes. Let him try to "know" the import of this—$52,500,000,000! It is impossible. But stupendous as this seems, it is exceeded by the wealth of the Republic, which in the same year amounted to thirteen hundred millions sterling ($65,000,000,000). Nor is this altogether due to her enormous agricultural resources, as may at first glance be thought; for all the world knows she is first among nations in agriculture. It is largely attributable to her manufacturing industries, for, as all the world does not know, she, and not Great Britain, is also the greatest manufacturing country. In 1888 British manufactures amounted in value to eight hundred and twenty millions sterling; those of the Republic in 1890 to one thousand seven hundred and fifty millions sterling ($8,750,000,000)—more than half as much as those of the whole of Europe, which amounted to three thousand one hundred and seventy-five millions. Thus, although Great Britain manufactures for the whole world, and the Republic is only gaining, year after year, greater control of her own markets, Britain's manufactures in 1888 were

not more than half the value of those of the one-century-old Republic, which is not generally considered a manufacturing country at all.

In the earnings of nations America also comes first, her annual earnings of two thousand three hundred and fifty-eight millions sterling being just about double those of the United Kingdom. The sixty-five million Americans of to-day could buy up the one hundred and forty millions of Russians, Austrians, and Spaniards; or, after purchasing wealthy France, would have enough pocket money to acquire Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, and Greece. The young republican could even buy the home of his ancestors—the dear old home with all its exquisite beauty, historical associations, and glorious traditions, which challenge our love—and hold it captive.

> "The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples,"

aye, every acre of Great Britain and Ireland could he buy, and hold it as a pretty little Isle of Wight to his great continent; and after doing this he could turn round and pay off the entire national debt of that deeply indebted land, and yet not exhaust his fortune! What will he not be able to do ere his second century of national existence closes! Already the nations which have played great parts in the world's history grow small in comparison. In a hundred years they will be as dwarfs, in two hundred mere pygmies to this giant; he the Gulliver of nations, they but Liliputians who may try to bind him with their spider threads in vain.

The shipping of the Republic ranks next to that of the world's carrier, Britain. No other nation approaches her

for second place. In 1890 the tonnage of rigged vessels of Great Britain was eight and a half millions of tons; that of the Republic seven millions six hundred thousand, being greater than that of the other carrying powers combined. The Western Republic has many times the carrying capacity of its European sister France. Her ships earned nearly twenty-three per cent. of the total shipping earnings of the world in 1890. In 1880 their earnings were not quite twenty per cent. During the same period Britain's proportion fell from fifty to forty-seven per cent. What the old home has lost, the new has gained. France and Germany each earned but a shade over five per cent. In addition to the rigged vessels the Republic has four millions of tons, unrigged vessels, barges, and coal boats used for transportation on lakes and rivers of coal, iron, stone, and other heavy materials, for which Britain uses chiefly "rigged vessels." Were these to be embraced as "shipping," the water tonnage (exclusive of canal boats, etc.) of the United States would exceed that of Britain more than three millions of tons. The exports and imports of America are already equal to those of France and Germany — about £350,000,000. Notwithstanding those facts, which are corroborated by Mulhall, and are known to be correct, the general impression is that the Republic, gigantic as she is on land, has very little footing upon the water. This is one of many popular delusions about the "kin beyond sea." The United States is adding to her shipping of home-built ships nearly three hundred thousand tons per year. Upon last Washington's Birthday, two of the largest passenger steamships were transferred to her flag with imposing ceremonies, and contracts have recently been closed for five large ocean steamers to

be built in Philadelphia, two of which will equal any ships now afloat. Two other ten-thousand-ton ships are to be built at the Newport yards in Virginia. The Republic is soon to become once more a formidable competitor upon the sea.

But while she is next to Britain herself as a maritime power, it is when we turn to her internal commerce—her carrying power on land—that she reverses positions with her great mother. The internal commerce of the United States exceeds the entire foreign commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, Russia, Holland, Austria-Hungary, and Belgium combined. For railway freight over a hundred and forty millions sterling are annually paid, a greater sum than the railway freightage of Great Britain, France, and Italy collectively, and more than is earned by all the ships in the world, exclusive of America's own earnings from ships. The Pennsylvania Railroad system alone transports more tonnage than all Britain's merchant ships.

In military and naval power the Republic is at once the weakest and the strongest of nations. Her regular army consists of but twenty-five thousand men scattered all over the continent in companies of fifty or a hundred. Her navy, compared with other nations, is still as nothing. But thirty years ago, as at the blast of a trumpet, she called into action two millions of armed men, and floated six hundred and twenty-six war-ships. Even the vaunted legions of Xerxes, and the hordes of Attila and Timour were exceeded in numbers by the citizen soldiers who took up arms in 1861 to defend the unity of the nation, and who, when the task was done, laid them quietly down, and returned to the avocations of peace. As Macaulay

says of the soldiers of the Commonwealth: "In a few months there remained not a trace indicating that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community." And the character of the Republic's soldiers, too, recalls his account of this republican army of Cromwell. "The Royalists themselves confessed that, in every department of honest industry, the discarded warriors prospered beyond other men, that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask for alms, and that if a baker, a mason, or a wagoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers." This was when the parent land was free from hereditary rulers and under the invigorating influence of republican institutions. Thus do citizens fight on one side of the Atlantic as on the other, and, grander far, thus return to the pursuits of peace. Not for throne, for king, or for privileged class, but for *Country*. For a country which gives to the humblest every privilege accorded to the greatest, one cries,

> "Where's the coward that would not dare
> To fight for such a land!"

Britons as republicans were of course invincible. What chance in the struggle has the royalist who cries, "My king!" against the citizen whose patriotic ardor glows as he whispers, "My country!" The "God save the King" of the monarchist grows faint before the nobler strain of the republican,

> "God bless our native land!"

Our king, poor trifler, may be beneath consideration.

Our country is ever sure of our love. There be words to conjure and work miracles with, and "our country" is of these. Others, having ceased to be divine, have become ridiculous; "king" and "throne" are of these.

The twenty thousand Englishmen who met in Bingley Hall, Birmingham, to honor the sturdiest Englishman of all, John Bright, dispersed not with the puerile "God save the Queen," but with these glorious words sung to the same tune:

"God bless our native land,
May heaven's protecting hand
Still guard her shore;
May peace her fame extend,
Foe be transformed to friend,
And Britain's power depend
On war no more."

Worthy this of England, blessed mother of nations which now are, and of others yet to be. To hear it was worth the voyage across the Atlantic. Never crept the thrill of triumph more wildly through my frame than when I lifted up my voice and sang with the exulting mass the coming national hymn which is to live and vibrate round the world when royal families are as extinct as dodos. God speed the day! for the monarchical form delays the close alliance between the two English-speaking branches, which must follow the adoption of institutions based upon the common platform of Democracy. A royal family seems to the American an insult to every other family in the land. No trace of it was found at Birmingham.

The American has for his hymn the same German

tune which the Briton has adopted, and here is the closing verse of his national prayer:

"Our fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With Freedom's holy light:
Protect us in Thy might,
Great God—our King."

Most suggestive indeed, that the three chief Anglo-Saxon branches already sing the same tune to express national feeling! "God save the Queen"—now rapidly vanishing for the nobler prayer, "God bless our Native Land"—of the Briton, the "Heil Dir im Siegeskrans" of our German kindred, and "My Country, 'tis of Thee," of the American; the words different, but music and sentiment in perfect unison. The words may also be the same some day; for "Race alliance" is not all a dream; the German is of like stock with ourselves.

The Republic wants neither standing army nor navy. In this lies her chief glory and her strength. Resting securely upon the love and devotion of all her sons, she can, Cadmus-like, raise from the soil vast armed hosts who fight only in her defence, and who, unlike the seed of the dragon, return to the avocations of peace when danger to the Republic is past. The American citizen who will not fight for his country if attacked is unworthy the name, and the American citizen who could be induced to engage in aggressive warfare is equally so. The Republic's conquests are those of peace.

Of more importance even than industrial or military strength is the Republic's commanding position among

nations in intellectual activity; for she excels in the number of schools and colleges, in the number and extent of her libraries, and in the number of newspapers and other periodicals published.

Progress in the arts keeps pace with material development. The art treasures of the world are being gathered by her in a constantly increasing stream, and within herself an artist class is conquering recognition at home and abroad. In engraving, stained glass, and silverwork, in decorative art as in household architecture, she has already attained the front rank.

A national literature begins to make its appearance along with a national school of painting. In medicine the triumphs of the new land are remarkable; notably in preventive medicine and in surgery. In dentistry she is unrivalled. In orchestral music and in the oratorio comparison may now safely be challenged with Europe. In sublime astronomy her rank is first. The newest scientific inventions in this branch and the latest discoveries in the heavens are hers.

In the application of science to social and industrial uses, she is far in advance of other nations. Many of the most important practical inventions which have contributed to the progress of the world during the past century originated with Americans. No other people have devised so many labor-saving machines and appliances. The first commercially successful steamboat navigated the Hudson, and the first steamship to cross the Atlantic sailed under the American flag from an American port. America gave to the world the cotton-gin, and the first practical mowing, reaping, and sewing machines. In the most ethereal of all departments in which man has produced

great triumphs, electricity, the position of the American is specially noteworthy. He may be said almost to have made this province his own, for, beginning with Franklin's discovery of the identity of lightning and electricity, it was an American who devised the best and most widely used system of telegraphy, and an American who boldly undertook to bind together the old and the new land with electric chains. In the use of electricity for illuminating and motor purposes, America maintains her position as first wherever this subtile agent is invoked. The recent additions to the world's means of communication, the telephone and graphophone, are also to be credited to the new land.

Into the distant future of this giant nation we need not seek to peer; but if we cast a glance forward, as we have done backward, for only half a century, and assume that in that short interval no serious change will occur, the astounding fact startles us that in 1940, fifty years from now, when many in manhood will still be living, one hundred and seventy millions of English-speaking republicans will exist under one flag and possess more than two hundred and fifty thousand millions of dollars, or fifty thousand millions sterling, of national wealth. A century ago the whole of America and Europe did not contain so many people; and, if Europe and America continue their normal growth, it will be little more than another century ere the mighty Republic may boast as many loyal citizens as all the rulers of Europe combined, for before the year 2,000 Europe and America will each have a population of about five hundred millions.

The causes which have led to the rapid growth and aggrandizement of this latest addition to the family of

nations constitute one of the most interesting problems in the social history of mankind. What has brought about such stupendous results—such unparalleled development of a nation within so brief a period? The most important factors in this problem are three: the ethnic character of the people, the topographical and climatic conditions under which they developed, and the influence of political institutions founded upon the equality of the citizen.

Certain writers in the past have maintained that the ethnic type of a people has less influence upon its growth as a nation than the conditions of life under which it is developing. The modern ethnologist knows better. We have only to imagine what America would be to-day if she had fallen, in the beginning, into the hands of any other people than the colonizing British, to see how vitally important is this question of race. America was indeed fortunate in the seed planted upon her soil. With the exception of a few Dutch and French it was wholly British; and, as will be shown in the next chapter, the American of to-day remains true to this noble strain and is three-fourths British. The special aptitude of this race for colonization, its vigor and enterprise, and its capacity for governing, although brilliantly manifested in all parts of the world, have never been shown to such advantage as in America. Freed here from the pressure of feudal institutions no longer fitted to their present development, and freed also from the dominion of the upper classes, which have kept the people from effective management of affairs and sacrificed the nation's interest for their own, as is the nature of classes, these masses of the lower ranks of Britons, called upon to found a new state, have proved

themselves possessors of a positive genius for political administration.

The second, and perhaps equally important, factor in the problem of the rapid advancement of this branch of the British race, is the superiority of the conditions under which it has developed. The home which has fallen to its lot, a domain more magnificent than has cradled any other race in the history of the world, presents no obstructions to unity—to the thorough amalgamation of its dwellers, North, South, East, and West, into one homogeneous mass; for the conformation of the American continent differs in important respects from that of every other great division of the globe. In Europe the Alps occupy a central position, forming on each side watersheds of rivers which flow into opposite seas. In Asia the Himalaya, the Hindu Kush, and the Altai Mountains divide the continent, rolling from their sides many great rivers which pour their floods into widely separated oceans. But in North America the mountains rise on each coast, and from them the land slopes gradually into great central plains, forming an immense basin where the rivers flow together in one valley, offering to commerce many thousand miles of navigable streams. The map thus proclaims the unity of North America, for in this great central basin, three million square miles in extent, free from impassable rivers or mountain barriers great enough to hinder free intercourse, political integration is a necessity and consolidation a certainty.

Herbert Spencer has illustrated by numerous examples the principle that "mountain-haunting peoples and peoples living in deserts and marshes are difficult to consolidate, while peoples penned in by barriers are consolidated with

facility." Nations so separated, moreover, regard those beyond the barrier as natural enemies; and in Europe the ambition and selfishness of ruling dynasties have helped to make this belief the political creed of the people. Cowper has seized upon this idea in the well-known lines:

> "Mountains interposed
> Make enemies of nations, who had else
> Like kindred drops been mingled into one."

Europe has thus been kept in a state of perpetual war or of preparation for war among some of its several divisions, entailing much misery and loss of life as well as of material wealth, and retarding civilization.

Besides the rivers, the great lakes of America, estimated to contain one-third of all the fresh water in the world, are another important element in aid of consolidation. A ship sailing from any part of the world may discharge its cargo at Chicago in the Northwest, a thousand miles inland. The Mississippi and its tributaries traverse the great Western basin, a million and a quarter square miles in extent, and furnish an internal navigable system of twenty thousand miles. A steamer starting from Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, four hundred and fifty miles inland from New York, and two thousand from the mouth of the Mississippi, passing through these water highways, and returning to its starting place at that smoky metropolis of iron and steel, will sail a distance much greater than around the world. Nor will it in all its course be stopped by any government official, or be taxed by any tariff. The flag it carries will ensure free passage for ship and cargo, unimpeded by any fiscal charge whatever, for the whole continent enjoys the blessings of abso-

lute freedom of intercourse among its citizens. In estimating the influences which promote the consolidation of the people much weight must be given to this cause. Sixty-five millions of people, occupying an area which includes climatic differences so great that almost everything necessary for the wants of man can be readily produced, exchange their products without inspection or charge. Truly here is the most magnificent exhibition of free trade which the world has ever seen. It would be difficult to set bounds to the beneficial effects of the wise provision of the national Constitution which guarantees to every member of the vast confederacy the blessings of unrestricted commercial intercourse, for this makes them one great family with a common interest—all anxious to make the one nation great.

Not only from an economical point of view, but from the higher stand-point of its bearing upon the unity and brotherhood of the people, this unrestricted freedom of trade must rank as one of the most potent agencies for the preservation of the Union. Were each of the forty-four States of the American continent free to tax the products of the others we should soon see the dissolution of the great Republic into warring factions. If any one doubts that free trade in internal exchanges among a people carries peace and unity in its train, let him study the internal free trade system of America.

The railway system, although an artificial creation, must rank as even more important than the great natural water-ways, in its influence upon the unification of the people. A hundred and seventy thousand miles of railways—one-half of the railways of the world—traverse the country in all directions, and bind the nation together

with bonds of steel. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, three thousand miles apart, or from New York to New Orleans, the traveller passes without change in the same moving hotel. In it he is fed and lodged, and has every want supplied. We have in this vast system, which furnishes by far the cheapest railway transportation in the world, another potent illustration of the result of entire freedom of action. The field of construction is open to all; general railway laws enable any organization to build where it pleases. No legislative consent is required. Compulsory powers of purchase of property required are given to all railways under the law.

More than a third of all the telegraph wires on the globe—eight hundred thousand miles, enough to put thirty girdles round the earth, the very nerves of the Republic—quiver night and day with social and commercial messages. The telephone already enables the voices of those a thousand miles apart to be heard as in ordinary conversation. While far away, yet the loved ones are ever in close communion; separated, indeed, but not divided, and always within call of each other. This is one of the marvels of the last decade.

The people are being drawn constantly closer together by improved means of communication. When the first edition of this book was written, only ten years ago, the Senator from California required seven days by rail to reach his post in Congress; to-day, over the same route, he requires only four. The fastest trains in the world are no longer run in Britain, but in the Republic. The principal bankers and manufacturers in New York or Boston call up their partners in Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Cleveland, or Chicago, and converse freely with them by telephone.

Every triumph of science and invention contracts the space which separates the people, and makes the land more and more one vast neighborhood.

The college-bred youth of Massachusetts is not cut off from the paternal home and its associations when on his ranch in Colorado; nor is the Eastern young lady removed from the home influences of New York when she marries the Southern planter and goes forth to create a similar home in Texas. Constant communication between the families and frequent visits animate them with kindred ideas and keep them united. They carry the Stars and Stripes with them wherever they settle, and preserve the unity of the nation.

In the course of her short career the Republic has had to face and overcome two sources of great danger, either of which might have overtaxed the powers and stability of a political fabric resting upon a less wide and indestructible base than the perfect equality of the citizen. The infant state was left with the viper, human slavery, gnawing at its vitals, and it grew and strengthened with the growth and strength of the Republic until sufficiently powerful to threaten its very life. Coiled around and into every joint and part of the body-politic, and sucking away the moral strength of the nation, the slave power, in an effort to extend its baneful influence, fortunately committed one morning what is, in the soul of every American, the one unpardonable sin. It fired upon the flag. Blessed shot! for it was required to bring home to the national conscience the knowledge that not only were freedom and slavery antagonistic social forces which never could be joined, but that slavery as a political institution was inconsistent with the republican idea. The shot fired

that bright, sunny morning at the ensign, floating like a thing of joy over the ramparts of Fort Sumter, left the patriot no recourse. A thrill passed through the Free States, and once again for unity, as before for independence, men of all parties pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to uphold the Republic.

How nobly that pledge was redeemed is known to the world. The righteous sword of the Republic remained unsheathed not only until every slave was free, but until every slave was a citizen, with equal voice in the State. Great was the gain to the Free States, but to the Slave States it was greater still. Their remarkable progress, not alone in material prosperity, but in education and in all the most precious things of civilized life, may justly be credited to the abolition of slavery and the elevation of the masses of the people to the rank of freemen.

The second source of danger to the Republic lay in the millions of foreigners who came from all lands to the hospitable shores of the nation, many of them ignorant of the English language, and all unaccustomed to the exercise of political duties. If so great a number stood aloof from the national life and formed circles of their own, or if they sought America for a period only, to earn money with which to return to their original homes, the injury to the State must inevitably have been serious.

The generosity—shall we not say the incredible generosity?—with which the Republic has dealt with these people met its reward. They are won to her side by being offered for their *subject*ship the boon of citizenship. For denial of equal privileges at home, the new land meets them with the offer of perfect equality, saying, Be not only with us, but of us. They reach the shores of

the Republic *subjects* (insulting word), and she makes them citizens; serfs, and she makes them men, and their children she takes gently by the hand and leads to the public schools which she has founded for her own children, and gives them, without money and without price, a good primary education as the most precious gift which even she has, in her bountiful hand, to bestow. This is Democracy's "gift of welcome" to the newcomer. The poor immigrant cannot help growing up passionately fond of his new home, and, alas! with many bitter thoughts of the old land which has defrauded him of the rights of man; and thus the threatened danger is averted —the homogeneity of the people secured.

In recent years the nationalities and character of immigrants have changed materially. A much greater proportion come now from the south of Europe, who are less educated than the northern contingent. This is, no doubt, to be much regretted, but there seems no reason to apprehend serious injury to the nation in consequence— for it is, as a rule, the best among the poor of any country who have the ambition and the means to travel so far to a new land. A few undesirable people may come, but the great bulk must necessarily be of the right stamp, provided they have paid their own expenses.

The unity of the American people is further powerfully promoted by the foundation upon which the political structure rests, the equality of the citizen. There is not one shred of privilege to be met with anywhere in all the laws. One man's right is every man's right. The flag is the guarantor and symbol of equality. There is no party in the State that suggests, or which would not oppose, any fundamental change in the general laws. These are

held to be perfect, and differences between parties are limited to questions of their proper or improper administration.

The people are not emasculated by being made to feel that their own country decrees their inferiority, and holds them unworthy of privileges accorded to others. No ranks, no titles, no hereditary dignities, and therefore no classes. Suffrage is universal, and votes are of equal weight. Representatives are paid, and political life and usefulness thereby thrown open to all. Thus there is brought about a community of interests and aims which a Briton, accustomed to monarchical and aristocratic institutions, which divide the people into classes with separate interests, aims, thoughts, and feelings, can only with difficulty understand.

The free common school system of the land is probably, after all, the greatest single power in the unifying process which is producing the new American race. Through the crucible of a good common English education, furnished free by the State, pass the various racial elements—children of Irishmen, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Swedes, side by side with the native American, all to be fused into one, in language, in thought, in feeling, and in patriotism. The Irish boy loses his brogue, and the German child learns English. The sympathies suited to the feudal systems of Europe, which they inherit from their fathers, pass off as dross, leaving behind the pure gold of the only noble political creed: "All men are created free and equal." Taught now to live and work for the common weal, and not for the maintenance of a royal family or an overbearing aristocracy, not for the continuance of a social system which ranks them beneath

an arrogant class of drones, children of Russian and German serfs, of Irish evicted tenants, Scotch crofters, and other victims of feudal tyranny, are transmuted into republican Americans, and are made one in love for a country which provides equal rights and privileges for all her children. There is no class so intensely patriotic, so wildly devoted to the Republic as the naturalized citizen and his child, for little does the native-born citizen know of the value of rights which have never been denied. Only the man born abroad, like myself, under institutions which insult him at his birth, can know the full meaning of Republicanism.

It follows, from the prevailing system of free education, that the Americans are a reading people. Arising from this fact we find another powerful influence promoting unity of sentiment and purpose among the millions of the Republic—the influence of the American press. Nineteen thousand newspapers are published throughout the land, nearly two thousand of which are issued daily and receive simultaneous telegraphic reports. Everybody in America reads the same news the same morning, and discusses the same questions. The man of San Francisco is thus brought as near to a common centre with his fellow-citizen of St. Paul, New Orleans, or New York, as is the man of London with him of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, or Edinburgh, and infinitely nearer than the man of Belfast or Dublin. The bullet of the lunatic which killed President Garfield, could it have travelled so far, would have been outstripped by the lightning messengers which carried the sad news to the most distant hamlet upon the continent. The blow struck in the afternoon found the whole nation bowed with grief ere

sunset. So, also, the quiet intimation conveyed one evening by Secretary Seward to the Minister of France, that he thought Mexico was a very healthy country for the French to migrate from, called forth at every breakfast table the next morning the emphatic response—"That is so!" Fortunately, the emperor was of the same opinion.

It is these causes which render possible the growth of a great homogeneous nation, alike in race, language, literature, interest, patriotism—an empire of such overwhelming power and proportions as to require neither army nor navy to ensure its safety, and a people so educated and advanced as to value only the victories of peace.

The student of American affairs to-day sees no influences at work save those which make for closer and closer union. The Republic has solved the problem of governing large areas by adopting the federal, or home-rule system, and has proved to the world that the freest self-government of the parts produces the strongest government of the whole.

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

"From biological truths it may be inferred that the eventual mixture of the allied varieties of the Aryan race forming the population, will produce a finer type of man than has hitherto existed, and a type of man more plastic, more adaptable, more capable of undergoing the modifications needful for complete social life. I think that, whatever difficulties they may have to surmount, and whatever tribulations they may have to pass through, the Americans may reasonably look forward to a time when they will have produced a civilization grander than any the world has known."—HERBERT SPENCER.

"Everything tends to make the individual American independent and self-reliant. He gets to think that each man is his own best helper and adviser."—BRYCE'S *American Commonwealth*.

THE Briton sings, "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we," and the master race of the world rightly traces its preëminence to the mixture of the best of all the other races which enter into its composition. These little islands in the North Sea, which rule one-sixth of the whole world and one-fifth of its people, draw mastery not from natural advantages, but from the "happy breed of men" which inhabit them. These islanders have been the conquering race. In the struggle for existence they have proved themselves the fittest. It was to be inferred that their sons, with the same strain of blood that has enabled their sires to have their way in the world, would prove themselves capable of dominating any portion of the globe upon which they settled. A good lineage this for any

people, and fortunately for the Americans they are essentially British. I trust they are evermore to remain truly grateful for this crowning mercy. The assertion of the historian of the Norman Conquest—that the chief difference between the Briton and the American is that the former has crossed but one ocean, the latter two—is something more than a mere dictum; it is capable of actual demonstration. Two and a half centuries ago the American population was British, with a very small intermixture of French and Dutch. In 1776, when the colonies informed the world of the great truth that "all men are created equal," and set up an independent republic, without king or aristocracy, or any other of the political errors of the past, the population had reached three millions. In 1840 it had grown, almost entirely by natural increase, to fourteen millions of white people. There were then three million colored slaves. That these fourteen million whites were almost purely of British origin is shown by the small amount of immigration up to that date. Previous to 1820, when immigration returns were first made, it is estimated that the total number of immigrants to that date had not exceeded a quarter of a million, and most of these were British. Between 1820 and 1830 there arrived only one hundred and forty-four thousand, and during the next decade six hundred thousand, nearly all British; for the German and other continental exodus had not then begun. It was not till after 1840 that immigration began on a large scale.

Beginning, then, in 1840 with an almost purely British race, let us trace the ingredients which up to the present time have gone to make the American of to-day, differentiated as he is, and yet only British "with a difference."

The total number of immigrants to the United States between 1820 and 1890 was fifteen million three hundred and eighty thousand, thirty-six per cent. of whom were British. Lead into one the rivulets which swell the American population from all other parts of the world, and out of the little British Isles comes a stream equal to more than one-third of all. Glorious mother! with her own heart's blood she feeds her child.

The position may then be stated in the following form: The total number of immigrants other than British, with their increase from the time of arriving in the country, estimated as equal in rate to that of the natives, is approximately twelve million eight hundred thousand. The white population (1890) is about fifty-five million. Subtracting these people of birth or extraction other than British, leaves as the contingent of British blood forty-two million two hundred thousand, or about seventy-seven per cent. of the entire white population.

Thus the American of to-day is certainly more than three-fourths British in his ancestry. The other fourth is principally German; for more than four and a half millions of these educated, thrifty, and law-abiding citizens were received between 1840 and 1890, more even than from Ireland. Hence the American, three parts British, one part German, is almost as purely Anglo-Saxon as either Briton or German. These three nations are really one people. From all countries other than Britain and Germany, the immigration during the past fifty years was little more than five millions, which came principally from Norway, Sweden, Hungary, and Italy, and mainly in recent years. But this non-Anglo-Saxon blood has even less than its proportional influence in

forming the national character, especially in its political phase; because the language, literature, laws, and institutions are English. It may, however, safely be averred that the small mixture of foreign races is a decided advantage to the new race, for even the British race is improved by a slight cross. Give us a British foundation: the beef-eater, to begin with; the stolid or, if you will, stupid mind of the Philistine of dear Matthew Arnold's aversion, only partially open to the sweetness and light of life; slow as an elephant, tough as steel, stubborn as a mule, but possessed of an honest, courageous, well-meaning, and, above all, truth-telling nature. A strange combination of the lion and the lamb, this islander—savage and sentimentalist in one. "It's a fine day; let's kill something," roars the savage—his daily remark for months at a time, and his daily practice, too, for even the best-educated Briton (with a few exceptions of the Spencer, Balfour, and Arnold type) has not yet risen in his recreations beyond shooting half-tame birds, "for the fun of the thing." And yet their typical hero, dying on the deck of the *Victory*, murmurs, "Kiss me, Hardy," as sweetly as a woman, and passes to the abode of heroes with a warrior's kiss upon his lips. And Nelson's antipode, fat Jack Falstaff—to show how extremes meet, so true to nature is Shakespeare—"a babbled o' green fields" as he left us! There is genuine tenderness in these island mastiffs. And theirs is the one trait *par excellence* without which we say to a man or race: "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." The Briton is stable. What he sets about to do he does, or dies in the attempt. Concentration is his peculiarity. He may not gain very fast, but he is a veritable ratchet wheel;

every inch he gains he holds. There's no slip back in him. Nor does he lose in the race by lateral motion. The tortoise beats the hare, of course; the hare zig-zags. No zig-zag in John Bull. He does not like to go round a mountain even when it is the easier way; he digs through. The hunter who found temporary safety, when attacked by a bear, in catching it by the tail and swinging round with the would-be too affectionate monster, called to his companions to come and "help him to let go." By this sign we know he was not a Briton, for it never occurs to the true Briton that in the nature of things he can voluntarily let go of anything. He would have been in with that bear for the whole war, bound to "fight it out on that line if it took all summer," as General Grant put it. Let it be noted, he was a Grant. There came in the Scotch blood of that tenacious, self-contained, stubborn force, which kept pegging away, always certain of final victory, because he knew that he could not divert himself, even if he wished, from the task he had undertaken. His very nature forbade retreat. Thus stood the sturdy, moody Scotch-American of steady purpose, fighting through to the finish with no "let go" in his composition, as that English-American Lincoln did—for Uncle Abe's family came from Norfolk—in the wider field of national policy, when he, too, "kept his course unshaked of motion." This master trait of the British race shows resplendently in Lincoln, the greatest political genius of our era—greatest, judged either by the inherent qualities of the man, or by the material results of his administration. Even Bismarck's reorganization of Germany dealt with far less gigantic forces than those which Lincoln was called upon to control. Nor has Bismarck achieved the

highest degree of political success; he has not harmonized, fused into one united whole, the people he has consolidated, as Lincoln did. His weapons have been those of force alone—blood and iron his cry; even in peace a master solely by brutal force. Lincoln was as generous, as conciliatory, as gentle, as merciful in war as he had been in peace, yet ever immovable in purpose. Bismarck excited the fears of the masses; Lincoln won their love. The one a rude conqueror only; the other not only that, but also the guide of the highest and best aspirations of his people. With monarchical Bismarck "might made right"; with republican Lincoln "right made might." That is the difference. Hence the fame of one is to be ephemeral; that of the other immortal.

The American fortunately has, in the German, French, and other races which have contributed to his character, the lacking ingredients which confer upon him a much less savage and more placable nature than that of the original Briton. To this slight strain of foreign blood, and to the more stimulating effects of his brighter climate (which caused an English friend once to remark that temperance is no virtue in the American, since he breathes champagne), together with the more active play of forces in a new land under political institutions which make the most of men, we must attribute the faculty observed in him by Matthew Arnold, of thinking straighter and seeing clearer, and also of acting more promptly than the original stock, for the American is nothing if not logical. He gets hold of the underlying principle, and, reasoning from that, he goes ahead to conclusion. He wants everything laid down by square and compass,

and in political institutions something that is "fair all around," neither advantages nor disadvantages, but universal equality.

The American is tolerant. Politics do not divide people. Once in four years he warms up and takes sides, opposing hosts confront each other, and a stranger would naturally think that only violence could result whichever side won. The morning after the election, his arm is upon his opponent's shoulder, and they are chaffing each other. All becomes as calm as a summer sea. He fights "rebels" for four years, and as soon as they lay down their arms invites them to his banquets. Not a life is sacrificed to feed his revenge. Jefferson Davis, educated at the National Military Academy and a deserter from the State, was allowed to drag on his weary life in merited oblivion. No drop of martyr's blood embitters the South and breeds the wish for revenge. "We shall give mankind," said Secretary Seward, "an example of such magnanimity as it has never seen." He had no monarchy, no aristocracy, no military class urging sacrifice to appease its offended majesty; he had the democracy behind him, with its generous instincts preaching forgiveness, and hence no drop of blood was shed. The American never cherishes resentment, but is willing always not only to forgive, but to forget, the latter not less than half the struggle, for, as our humorist very justly observes, "the man who forgives but don't forget is trying to settle with the Lord for fifty cents on the dollar." Brother Jonathan pays the full dollar.

The generally diffused love of music which characterizes America is largely the outcome of the German and Continental contingent, for, with all the phlegm of the Briton,

there is in the German a part of his nature "touched to fine issues." He loves music, is highly sociable, very domestic at home, and at his best in the bosom of his family. Most valuable of all, he is well educated and has excellent habits, is patient, industrious, peaceful, and law-abiding. Another important characteristic of this race is the alacrity with which they adopt American ideas. The vast majority have already done so ere they sail westward. The German loves his native country, but hates its institutions. The Kaiser's yoke is neither light nor easy. Universal military service, the blood-tax of monarchies, is calculated to set the best minds among the bone and sinew to thinking over the political situation, and O America! how bright and alluring you appear to the down-trodden masses of Europe, with your equal laws and privileges, and the halo of peace surrounding your brow! What a bribe you offer to the most loyal-minded man to renounce his own country to share a heritage so fair! The immigrant may not succeed in the new land, or he may succeed as the Irishman did, who replied to the inquiry of his friend as to whether the Republic was the country for the poor man: "It is, indade. Look at me; when I came I hadn't a rag to my back, and now I'm just covered with them." Many new arrivals fail; many would succeed better in their old homes. America is only a favored land for the efficient; drones have no place in her hive. But in whatever the immigrant may fail, whether in securing wealth or home, whether his lot be happy or miserable, there remains one great prize which cannot escape him, one blessing so bright, so beneficent, as to shed upon the darkest career the glory of its entrancing rays and compensate for the absence of material good.

Upon every exile from home falls the boon of citizenship, equal with the highest. The Republic may not give wealth or happiness; she has not promised these. It is the freedom to pursue these, not their realization, which the Declaration of Independence claims. But if she does not make the immigrant happy or prosperous, this she can do and does for every one—she makes him, under her laws, a citizen, a *man*.

Let us see of what elements this nation of sixty-three millions is composed. First, there are the native-born whites, numbering 73 per cent. of the whole. Second, the foreign-born whites, numbering 15 per cent. of the whole. Third, the negroes, numbering 12 per cent.

The United States has for half a century been the haven of refuge for the ambitious people of Europe. From all parts these have flocked to the United States for work at high wages, for freedom, for the right to govern themselves, free from military service and oppressive taxation.

The following table shows the number of immigrants in each ten-year period since 1820:

IMMIGRATION.

1821–1830	143,439
1831–1840	599,125
1841–1850	1,713,251
1851–1860	2,579,580
1861–1870	2,278,425
1871–1880	2,812,191
1881–1890	5,246,613

Of this immense number, nearly fifteen and a half millions, thirty-six per cent., were of British blood. The

following shows the number of the foreign-born citizens in the United States at each census:

YEAR.	FOREIGN BORN.	PROPORTION OF TOTAL.
1850 . . .	2,244,602	9.68
1860 . . .	4,138,697	13.16
1870 . . .	5,567,229	14.44
1880 . . .	6,679,943	13.32
1890	9,249,547	14.77

Immigration to this country, which first assumed large proportions about 1848, was composed during the first few years almost entirely of Irish. Between 1850 and 1860 an exodus commenced from Germany which rapidly grew, becoming nearly equal to that from Ireland. Up to the year 1880, three-fifths of all immigration was composed of people of these two nationalities. In the past ten years, however, other elements have become prominent. From Norway and Sweden most desirable acquisitions have reached these shores to the number of half a million, or about one-tenth of the total immigration.

The great majority of immigrants remain in the cities. This is true particularly of the Irish, Italians, and Hungarians, and in somewhat less degree of the Germans and Russians, while the greater proportion of the Swedes and Norwegians seek the rural districts.

The Irish and French-Canadians remain in the north-eastern States, especially in New York, New England, and New Jersey. The Germans have scattered far and wide over all the northern States to the western frontier, and are found in the greatest numbers in Illinois, Wisconsin, and adjacent States. Milwaukee is largely a

German city. The Norwegians and Swedes have gone to the Northwest, and peopled in large proportion great areas in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas.

The Frenchman is not migratory. It is much to the credit of America that it has attracted even three hundred thousand of these home-keeping Gauls. The number is so small that their influence upon the national character cannot be otherwise than trifling. They are the cooks and the epicures of the world, and to them America may well be grateful for the standard maintained by the "Delmonicos," the French restaurants of the principal cities. No country has experienced so clearly as this, till recently, that while God sent the victuals, the cooks came from another quarter. These were not from France, nor under French influence, in the former days. Even yet, west of Chicago and south of Washington the cookery is deplorable, but, thanks to the Frenchman, the better standard travels rapidly. Nature never furnished to any nation so great a variety of food, yet no civilized nation ever cooked so badly.

It is not unusual to find in the writings of Europeans statements to the effect that the American race is unable to maintain itself without the constant influx of foreign immigration. A position more directly opposed to the facts could scarcely be taken. Let us see. The total number of persons of foreign birth in the United States in 1890 was approximately nine and a quarter millions. The total number of persons of native birth, but whose parents were of foreign birth, in 1890 was approximately ten million four hundred thousand. Now, since immigration on a large scale commenced at a comparatively recent date, it is not probable that there is any consider-

able number of persons of foreign parentage in the second generation. Therefore, the sum of these, nineteen million six hundred and fifty thousand, or, in round numbers, twenty millions, is probably a close approximation to the number of persons in the country of foreign birth or of foreign parentage. The number of whites in the United States in 1890 was, in round numbers, fifty-five millions. Subtracting from this the above twenty millions, leaves as the number of whites of native extraction in the United States in 1890, thirty-five millions. In 1840 the corresponding number was approximately fourteen millions, showing that in fifty years the native population, unaided by immigration, has much more than doubled—indeed, has increased no less than one hundred and fifty per cent. It does not look as if the "American race" is not able to maintain itself.

But this is not the whole case. It is a fact thoroughly well known to all political economists, that as the density of population increases the rate of increase diminishes. It does not matter in the least how that density of population is brought about, whether by natural increase or by immigration; the result is the same. It follows from this that, in all probability, had there been no immigration the American people would more nearly have maintained the rate of natural increase which it had prior to the beginning of immigration. The extensive immigration to these shores must have tended to force down the rate of natural increase.

Such a rate of increase as the United States shows is unparalleled among European nations, and thoroughly demonstrates not only that the native American race is capable of taking care of itself, but also that the rate of

increase among our citizens of foreign birth is far greater here than in their fatherlands.

It will be instructive to learn to what extent this multitude of immigrants from all the nations of the earth has assumed the privileges and duties of American citizenship; how many of them are now citizens or have made application for citizenship, and, on the other hand, how many of them have as yet taken no steps toward becoming citizens. Out of 4,348,459 foreign-born males of voting age, there were, in 1890, 1,189,452 aliens, meaning by aliens all those who have not taken the preliminary steps toward becoming naturalized. In other words, about one-fourth of the possible voters among these immigrants have not yet taken steps to establish American citizenship.

The naturalization laws of the United States prescribe that no alien can become a citizen until he has been for five years a resident of the country, and that at least two years prior to that time he shall have filed a declaration of his intention to become naturalized. He may file this declaration upon landing, or at any time within the first three years of residence, but he cannot become a citizen until the five years have elapsed.

At the first glance, the proportion of immigrants of voting age—more than one-fourth—who have not filed their declarations of intention to acquire citizenship, appears exceptionally large. A little consideration will, however, dispel this idea. Of the great immigration during the past ten years, consisting of an unusual proportion of persons unfamiliar with the English language, it is easy to suppose that very many have not yet become sufficiently acquainted with the language and customs of the country to desire citizenship, and until they have acquired

the language and knowledge of our government and customs, it is not at all desirable that they should do so. During the three years ending with 1890 the number of immigrants of voting age was not far from six hundred thousand. Since, in order to become citizens at the earliest possible date, it is not necessary that their intentions be declared until the end of the three years after landing, it is probable that most of these six hundred thousand have not yet done so, which would account for half, or nearly half, of the total number of aliens.

Therefore it appears probable that the large number of aliens at present is due to the recent increase in immigration of non-English-speaking people, and is a healthful symptom rather than the reverse, as indicating that this strictly foreign mass of people is being transformed and educated in republican ideas before being made citizens.

Perhaps the most overwhelming evidence of the appreciation in which the advantages offered by the free government and the abundant resources of the Republic are held throughout the world is seen in the fact that of all the emigration which is streaming from the old countries of Europe to the new countries of North and South America, Australia, and South Africa, more than four-fifths goes to the Republic. Add together the immigration to Australia, South Africa, the republics of South and Central America, and Canada, and that to the United States is more than four times as great as all. Two-thirds of the emigrants even from the mother country go, not to her own colonies, but to the new land which has set up for itself, and offers her sons not continued subjectship in the monarchy, but full citizenship in the Republic.

The value to the country of the annual foreign influx

is very great indeed. This is more apt to be under- than overestimated. During the ten years between 1880 and 1890 the number of immigrants averaged five hundred and twenty-five thousand per annum. In one year, 1882, 789,000 arrived. Sixty per cent. (473,400) of these were adults between fifteen and forty years of age. These adults were surely worth $1,500 (£300) each—for in former days an efficient slave sold for this sum—making a money value of $710,000,000 (£142,000,000), to which may be safely added $1,000 (£200) each, or $315,000,000 (£63,000,000), for the remaining forty per cent. of the host. Further, it is estimated that every immigrant brings in cash an average of $125 (£25). The cash value of immigrants upon this basis for the year 1882 exceeded $1,123,000,000 (£224,600,000). True, 1882 was an exceptional year; but the average yearly augmentation of the Republic's wealth from immigrants, who seek its shores to escape the enormous taxation and military laws of monarchical governments, and to obtain under republican institutions entire political equality, is now more than twice as great as the total product of all the silver and gold mines in the world. Were the owners of every gold and silver mine in the world compelled to send to the Treasury at Washington, at their own expense, every ounce of the precious metals produced, the national wealth would not be enhanced one-half as much as it is from the golden stream which flows into the country every year through immigration.

But the value of these peaceful invaders does not consist solely in their numbers or in the wealth which they bring. To estimate them aright we must take into consideration also their superior character. As the people

who laid the foundation of the American Republic were extremists, fanatics, if you will—men of advanced views intellectually, morally, and politically; men whom Europe had rejected as dangerous—so the majority of emigrants to-day are men who leave their native land from dissatisfaction with their surroundings, and who seek here, under new conditions, the opportunity for development denied them at home. The old and the destitute, the idle and the contented, do not brave the waves of the stormy Atlantic, but sit helplessly at home, perhaps bewailing their hard fate, or, what is still more sad to see, aimlessly contented with it. The emigrant is the capable, energetic, ambitious, discontented man—who, longing to breathe the air of equality, resolves to tear himself away from the old home with its associations, to found in hospitable America a new home under equal and just laws, which ensure to him, and—what counts with him and his wife for far more—ensure to their children the full measure of citizenship, making them free men in a free state, possessed of every right and privilege.

The true value of the men who emigrate is well understood by the ruling classes of the old world, who make every effort to prevent the exodus of so many able-bodied citizens. This is not from any fear of a loss of population, for it has been conclusively shown that emigration does not tend to diminish the rate of increase in the country emigrated from—provided, of course, that the drain be not in excess of the natural fecundity of the human race—but rather from a well-grounded knowledge that it takes away the best of the population, the very bone and sinew of the race. The German Reichstag at this moment is discussing a new law which prevents any

German from emigrating unless with the consent of the authorities. Anything, everything to stop the drain of its young, enterprising people to the United States. And what are we to think of reputed statesmen here who propose laws to stop these precious streams of immigration from reaching us? Either Germany or these statesmen are wrong. What Germany would fain keep at home cannot be very bad for the Republic to acquire. All that is wanted is a law against assisted paupers being received. The Republic could well afford to pay a high premium to every emigrant who has saved enough to pay his way to its shores and who becomes a citizen.

Fortunately for America, these efforts of European governments to prevent their best blood from coming to us have hitherto proved of little avail, and the steadily flowing stream of Britons, Teutons, and Latins is assuming greater proportions as the years roll on, and will be limited in future not by the emigrating capacity of European nations, but by the superior attractions which the Republic can offer. So long as America presents to the world the spectacle of a country with a strong yet free government, where social order prevails, where taxation is at a minimum, where education is every man's birthright, where higher rewards are offered to labor and enterprise than elsewhere, and where equality of political rights is secured, so long will the best of the workers seek its shores. A portion of the stream may be diverted in time to other countries, when such offer equal advantages, political and material; but the United States have the advantage in this—that the current has set this way for more than half a century, and emigrants are apt to follow the course of those who have preceded them, those

already established attracting their friends and relatives, and often providing the means for them to cross the ocean.

Besides being ambitious, energetic, and industrious, the emigrant is physically a strong and healthy man. The halt, the deaf, and the blind are not prompted to leave their European homes, nor does the confirmed invalid often seek a grave in a foreign land. The influence of this healthy stream has been potent since the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, and has resulted in a freedom from physical defect in America that is very noteworthy. Statistics show that the proportion of blind, deaf, and dumb to the total population is less than half what it is in Europe.

The capacity of America to absorb the population which is flowing into her, in addition to the great natural increase of her people, cannot be more strikingly illustrated than by a comparison. Belgium has four hundred and eighty-two inhabitants to the square mile; Britain, two hundred and ninety; the United States, exclusive of Alaska, has only twenty-one inhabitants to the square mile. In the years between 1880 and 1890 twelve and a half millions were added to the population of America. Yet these only added four persons to each square mile of territory; and should America continue to double her population every thirty years, instead of every twenty-five years as hitherto, seventy years must elapse before she will attain the present density of Europe. The population will then reach two hundred and ninety millions. If the present density of Britain ever be attained, there will be upwards of a thousand million Americans, for at present every Briton has two acres, and every American thirty-

two acres, of land as his estate. Of all the legislation recently advocated, the restriction of immigration seems the least reasonable. The Republic is getting the very cream of the working classes of Europe, and must continue to get this if assisted immigrants be excluded. No better evidence of value can be given than that a family has saved sufficient to carry them across the Atlantic. A pittance this seems to the American workman who earns many times over the wages of the European, but it represents years of hard, unremitting toil, and the exercise of many of the best qualities. It is in itself a certificate of excellent character, and none other should be required.

The forecasts just made are not only possible; they are extremely probable. The progress made since 1880 in the settlement of new regions is putting every preceding period into the shade. It is simply marvellous, and even those who are in the midst of it have difficulty in realizing how great it is. Scarcely a decade has passed since the great Northwest was represented as a barren, icy plain, wild, and scarcely habitable. The railway has changed it as by a wizard's touch. Minnesota has more than a million and a quarter of inhabitants. The population of the Dakotas has quadrupled in ten years, and is now half a million. Towns are springing up with magical rapidity. Their wheat crop in 1889 was forty-three million bushels—twice as great as the whole crop of Egypt. Montana is so young as to be barely known by name in England. In five years she has grown from a frontier Territory to a populous State; her population has increased to one hundred and thirty-two thousand. Washington has increased over three hundred and fifty per

cent. in ten years. Wyoming, Idaho, and Oregon are being developed almost as rapidly. At these rates of advance the "Wild West" is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, and in a few years it will be a thickly-settled land.

The negroes number about seven and a half millions. Originally slaves, but freed, and made citizens as the result of the great Civil War, they are developing, with little admixture with the white, into an industrious, law-abiding people. For one-third of the country this race furnishes practically all the manual labor. The South is dependent upon the negro for its crops of cotton, tobacco, rice, and cane. No other race can maintain itself, and perform manual labor under the burning sun of the tropics. While increasing at a fairly rapid rate, it is not keeping pace with the superior race. In 1790 it was 19.27 per cent. of the population, in 1890 it was only 12.

Abraham Lincoln, with one stroke of the pen, raised the race, then four and a half millions in number, from the condition of slavery to that of freedom. There is not a privilege possessed by any citizen which is not theirs. The English poet says:

> "Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country, and their shackles fall."

No more can they exist in England's child-land; and the Declaration of Independence, asserting the freedom and equality of men, is no longer a mockery.

Grave apprehensions were entertained that freedom suddenly granted to these poor slaves would be abused. Those best acquainted with their habits, the Southern

slave-holders, predicted, as a result of freedom, universal idleness, riot, and dissipation. It was asserted that the negro would not work save under the lash of the overseer. None of these gloomy predictions have been fulfilled—every one of them has been falsified. There is now more cotton grown than ever, and at less cost. Under the reign of freedom the material resources of the South have increased faster than ever before. Indeed, so surprised were most Americans by the result of the tenth census that it was insisted mistakes had been made, and that the figures could not be right; and in some districts the enumeration was made a second time, with the result of verifying the former figures. The number of Congressmen to each State is determined every ten years by the population shown by the census. When the census of 1880 was made, the general expectation was that the Northern States would increase their proportionate representation; but the Southern States not only held their own, but actually gained. The ninety-eight Southern representatives were increased by thirteen, while the one hundred and ninety-five Northern representatives gained only eighteen—only half the Southern ratio of increase. Even the unexampled growth of the Northwestern States was insufficient to give the Northern States a proportionately increased legislative power. So much for freedom *versus* slavery!

The universal testimony is that the former slaves rapidly develop the qualities of freemen, and exhibit, in a surprising degree, the capacity to manage their own affairs. Many of them at once arranged with their former masters to work a part of the plantation upon shares. Others bargained for the purchase of strips of

land. They are now quite orderly and well-behaved, and much more industrious than before. The cotton crop of 1891—nine million bales, tells the story of peaceful industrialism. Never before the era of freedom did the South produce more than five and a half million bales in any year. The price for this product is now the lowest known; another proof that the labor of the freeman is more efficient, and hence cheaper, even than that of the slave.

It seems to me but yesterday since I was compelled to listen to arguments from good men in favor of the system of slavery, as I am yet doomed sometimes to hear defences of monarchy and aristocracy, and to hear them contend that it was best for the black race. Their contentedness and happiness under masters were always boldly asserted. A well-known judge in Ohio was noted for his defence of slavery, upon the ground that the slaves should be allowed to remain in the condition which admittedly brought them a degree of happiness seldom, if ever, attained by free laborers in the North. His conversion to the opposite opinion was suddenly brought about by an interview with a runaway who had crossed the Ohio River from Kentucky, and entered the village in which our friend resided. Said the judge to the fugitive:

"What did you run away for?"

"Well, judge, 'wanted to be free."

"Oh! wanted to be free, did you? Bad master, I suppose."

"Oh, no; berry good man, massa."

"You had to work too hard, then?"

"Oh, no; fair day's work."

"Well, you hadn't a good home?"

"Hadn't I, though! You should see my pretty cabin in Kentucky!"

"Well, you didn't get enough to eat?"

"Oh, golly! not get enough to eat in Kentucky! Plenty to eat."

The judge, somewhat annoyed: "You had a good master, plenty to eat, weren't overworked, a good home. I don't see what on earth you wanted to run away for."

"Well, judge, I left de situation down dar open. You can go right down and get it."

The result was a five-dollar note given to help the unreasonable slave who had left well-being behind to become a man. Henceforth the judge was an ardent abolitionist, recognizing that

> "Freedom hath a thousand charms to show,
> That slaves, howe'er contented, never know."

While the total white population of the country has risen from fourteen to fifty-five millions in fifty years, the number of the colored population has only risen from nearly three to a little over seven and a half millions. This results from two causes. First, the colored race receives no immigrants, but is restricted wholly to native increase for its growth; and, second, although their birth-rate is greater than that of the whites, it is more than balanced by their higher death-rate. The increase of colored people from 1860 to 1880 was but forty-nine per cent., against sixty-one per cent. increase of the whites.

It is too soon yet to judge whether, with superior knowledge and more provident habits flowing from free-

dom, this excessive death-rate will not be considerably reduced; but the conclusion seems unavoidable that the colored race cannot hold its own numerically against the white and must fall farther and farther behind. Adaptive as man is, we can scarcely expect the hotter climate of the Southern States, in which the colored people live, to produce as hardy a race as that of the cooler States of the North.

One of the most satisfactory proofs of civilization is the position which woman occupies... In the older lands the wife occupies the second place in the family. The husband is the unquestioned lord. His will is law to wife, children, and servants. In the Republic there is this difference, that the wife is an equal partner. It is recognized that she has rights in the household equal to those of her husband. If the husband be first, he is only first among equals. Her wishes in matters social and domestic have equal weight with his, and altogether she occupies a much higher position than in Europe. In society the difference of her position is equally marked.

There are two reasons for this. One is the high civilization which prevails in the Republic, many evidences of which have been adduced throughout these pages; the other is that man is in a numerical majority in the Republic, and, consequently, it is the woman rather than the man whose society is sought. In 1890 the population was made up of males and females in the proportion of 51.2 to 48.8. This difference is not distributed uniformly over the country. In the Eastern States women are slightly in excess of men, while in the Central and Western States the men are in excess, the proportion increasing until in the neighborhood of the frontier the

population is made up of nearly two males to one female.

Normally, population is pretty uniformly divided between males and females, the fair sex being slightly in excess, as is the case in all European nations. The excess of males in the Republic is due to the European immigration, which consists largely of males.

The superior position occupied by women in a land where they are outnumbered by men reacts upon their education, to which great attention is paid; hence it is generally remarked that the American wife is usually far in advance of her husband in all that pertains to culture. In manner, dress, and address she is especially noted wherever she goes.

CHAPTER III

CITIES AND TOWNS

"It is indeed a thrilling thought for a man of the elder England to see what a home the newest home of his people is. The heart swells, the pride of kinship rises, as he sees that it is his own folk which has done more than any other folk to replenish the earth and to subdue it. He is no Englishman at heart, he has no true feeling of the abiding tie of kindred, who deems that the glory and greatness of the child is other than part of the glory and greatness of the parent."—FREEMAN.

THE world of to-day is experiencing a new movement of its people. Wherever one travels he is struck by the rapid growth of the cities. A recent visit to the eastern parts of Europe after an absence of fifteen years gave me surprising proofs of this change. The rural districts remain as I had seen them before; scarcely a trace of change is seen. But the cities have all become modernized. Long avenues of new houses, all alike, have made a new Rome, a new Berlin, a new Vienna—all resembling each other. Man is becoming more and more gregarious, and even the United States forms no exception to the rule that population in civilized lands gravitates toward the great cities. Though her immense agricultural development might have been expected to arrest this movement and divert population to the rural districts, such has not been the case. Despite the inducements to rural life offered by fertile land at nominal prices, towns during the last half century have grown much faster than

the country. The dull, dreary round of life upon the farm is found intolerable by the young man whose intellectual faculties have been awakened by education. The active mind seeks companionship with other minds and the pleasurable excitements of city life. Most great men, it is true, have been born and brought up in the country, but it is equally true that very few great men have remained there beyond their teens. The country is just the place for the extremes of life—at the beginning in childhood and early youth, when the body is to be nurtured; and also at the end, "when nature turns again to earth" in ripe old age, and retires from the fray to

> "Ruminate in sober thought
> On all he's seen, and heard, and wrought."

In 1830 only six and a half per cent. of the population lived in towns of eight thousand inhabitants and upward; in 1890 the proportion had risen to twenty-nine per cent. Thus, nearly one person in every three in America is now a member of a hive of more than eight thousand human beings. Sixty years ago this was true of but one in fifteen, for fourteen out of fifteen lived in the country or in small villages.

The growth of our great centres of industrial and commercial activity forms one of the most interesting chapters in national development. Within the memory of many of our readers, cities which now rank with the old cities of Europe in area, population, architecture, lighting, and water supply, were straggling trading points upon the rivers or lines of our rapidly extending railway system. Fifty years ago but one city in the United States could boast of more than a quarter of a million, and

only forty-four contained more than eight thousand inhabitants. To-day we have four hundred and forty-eight cities of over eight thousand—a ten-fold increase—eleven of which exceed a quarter of a million, and three of which have more than a million population. In 1840 the entire urban population of the United States only slightly exceeded the urban population which, according to the eleventh census, now clusters around the shores of our great inland lakes, and our aggregate city population to-day far exceeds the total population of the United States in 1840. The following table shows the proportion of dwellers in cities:

CENSUS YEARS.	POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.	POPULATION OF CITIES.	INHABITANTS OF CITIES IN EACH 100 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION.	PER CENT. INCREASE OF TOTAL POPULATION.
1790 . .	3,929,214	131,472	3.35	
1800 . .	5,308,483	210,873	3.97	35.10
1810 . .	7,239,881	356,920	4.93	36.38
1820 . .	9,633,822	475,135	4.93	33.07
1830 . .	12,866,020	864,509	6.72	33.55
1840 . .	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52	32.67
1850 . .	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.49	35.87
1860 . .	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.13	35.58
1870 . .	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93	22.63
1880 . . .	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57	30.08
1890 . .	62,622,250	18,284,385	29.20	24.86

NOTE.—The percentage of colored population was, in 1790, 19.27. In 1890 it is only 11.93 per cent. The percentage of foreign born has been fully maintained since 1870, and in 1890 is 14.77.

This is a stupendous change, and marks the growth of the Republic from the first stage of homogeneity in pastoral pursuits into the heterogeneous occupations of a more highly civilized state. The nation is developing in a healthy and natural direction. Its mechanical and

inventive genius has at last full scope in the thousand-and-one diversified pursuits which a civilized community necessarily creates, and which necessitate the gathering of men together in masses.

The American need not fear unfavorable results from the growth of cities, nor imitate the example of those who advocated legislative measures to prevent the growth of London, which Cobbett called a wart upon the hand of England. The free play of economic laws is keeping all quite right, for the town gained upon the country population only one-half as fast during the decade between 1870 and 1880 as in the previous one. A much greater gain was quite natural between 1880 and 1890. The enormous increase in manufactures necessitated a drain upon the country districts for labor. High wages and steady employment were offered, and it is certain that those who accepted these and those who remained upon the land were equally benefited. When the nation requires people for agriculture, they flow into that department. When manufacturing requires more labor, men flow to it.

These grand, immutable, all-wise laws of natural forces, how perfectly they work if human legislators would only let them alone! But no, they must be tinkering. One day they would protect the balance of power in Europe by keeping weak, small areas apart and independent—an impossible task, for petty states must merge into the greater: political is as certain as physical gravitation; the next day it is silver in America, which our sage rulers would make of greater intrinsic value. So our governors, all over the world, are at Sisyphus's work—ever rolling the stone uphill to see it roll back to its proper bed at the bottom.

That the country held its own so well in competition with the towns between 1870 and 1880, is partly due to the fact that the enormous profits made under an improved system of agriculture held the rural population to the soil. The general depression of manufactures also checked settlement in towns, and forced population into the country. The commercial panic of 1873 drove hundreds of thousands from the crowded cities of the East to the unoccupied plains of the West. Trainload after trainload of native emigrants were to be seen passing west to become farmers. With a return to normal conditions, such as those which have prevailed for years past—and owing to the great fall of agricultural products in value—we find the towns recently absorbing much more of the population.

Industrial depression in America always relieves the cities of surplus population which in older countries remains in poverty and distress to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Horace Greeley's advice, "Go West, young man!" is followed. One needs, however, to add to it, "and stay there," to complete the matter. The equilibrium is thus restored between producers and consumers, and prosperity to both follows. If there be too much food, it is unprofitable to grow more cereals, and fewer people become farmers; if the market be overstocked with manufactures, manufacturing becomes unprofitable and fewer engage in it. The population, meanwhile increasing at the rate of one and one-quarter millions per annum, soon requires the surplus, whether food or manufactures. America possesses hundreds of thousands of acres of virgin soil ready for the plough. Like the fabled Antæus, her power of recuperation lies in the earth; let

her touch but that and her giant strength is restored. This will continue until her population becomes nearly as dense as that of Europe.

According to Dr. Swainson Fisher, there were not, in 1835, five thousand white inhabitants in all the vast territory between Lake Michigan and the Pacific Ocean, a region half as large as Europe. Now it is covered with an agricultural population, and contains many populous cities, including Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Duluth, and St. Paul, to say nothing of the cities of the Pacific coast. Of the State of Wisconsin, occupying a part of this territory, a member of the Wisconsin Historical Society wrote, forty years ago:

"In the summer of 1836, with a comrade, I camped at the head of Mendota or Fourth Lake, within six miles of the spot where the Capitol now stands (1856), at which time there was not within twenty miles of that point a single white inhabitant, and none within the present limits of Dane County, an area of twelve hundred and forty square miles, except one family."

Dane County, then an almost uninhabited wilderness, contained in 1890 a population of sixty thousand, while the State of Wisconsin had one million seven hundred thousand. In 1890 the density of population in this young State exceeded that of Maine, Alabama, or West Virginia, and nearly equalled that of the old settled State of Georgia.

The United States had no city in 1830 which could boast a population of a quarter of a million. Even New York had but 197,112. In that year there were but fourteen towns with more than twelve thousand inhabitants each. In 1890 the number was 272.

The following table shows the number of cities classified according to population at the date of each census:

NUMBER OF CITIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POPULATION.

CENSUS YEARS.	Total.	8,000 to 12,000	12,000 to 20,000	20,000 to 40,000	40,000 to 75,000	75,000 to 125,000	125,000 to 250,000	250,000 to 500,000	500,000 to 1,000,000 *
1790 . .	6	1	3	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
1800 . .	6	1	.....	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
1810 . .	11	4	2	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....
1820 . .	13	3	4	2	2	2	.....	.....	.....
1830 . .	26	12	7	3	1	1	2	.....	.....
1840 . .	44	17	11	10	1	3	1	1	.....
1850 . .	85	36	20	14	7	3	3	1	1
1860 . .	141	62	34	23	12	2	5	1	2
1870 . .	226	92	63	39	14	8	3	5	2
1880 . .	286	110	76	55	21	9	7	4	3
1890 . .	448	176	107	91	35	14	14	7	1

Among the cities of New England, Boston shows an increase since 1880 of nearly twenty-four per cent. in population, and in 1890 numbers 448,477; of over twenty-eight per cent. in assessed valuation of property, and of over one hundred and ten per cent. in the amount of wages paid in manufactures, while the average wages per hand has increased from $421 in 1880 to $614 in 1890, and the value of the product has increased over fifty per cent. Fall River has increased its population nearly fifty-two per cent., and the wages paid in manufactures have increased seventy-seven per cent. Other New England cities show satisfactory increase in population and manufactures.

In 1880 New York was the only city which had

* There was one city of more than a million in 1880; in 1890 there were three.

a million inhabitants. In 1890 three cities had more than that number—New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The census of 1890 credited the Empire City with over a million and a half inhabitants. This, however, is only the number whose homes are within the corporate limits of the city proper. Within the metropolitan district there are more than three millions of people. It is this great mass which gives New York rank next to London. While New York City proper has increased only twenty-five and a half per cent. in population in the last ten years, the assessed valuation of the city has increased forty-seven per cent., and the amount paid in wages in manufactures one hundred and twenty-seven per cent., while the average wages per hand has increased from $427 in 1880 to $653 in 1890. Brooklyn shows an increase of nearly one hundred and sixty-nine per cent. in the amount paid in wages in manufactures, and Rochester of over two hundred and nine per cent., while the value of its product has increased one hundred and seventy-two per cent.

Philadelphia, in the diversity and extent of its manufactures, ranks second to New York. It shows an increase of one hundred and three per cent. in the amount paid in wages in manufactures, and the average wages per hand has increased from $346 in 1880 to $529 in 1890. It is preëminently the city of homes, as indicated by the fact that there are no less than 187,000 dwelling-houses in this city, as against 81,828 in the city of New York. In the last decade it added nearly 200,000 people to its population. Though near New York, it differs from that city in many essential points. Its numerous streets, with small brick houses, a

large proportion of which are owned by the occupants, are in great contrast to the huge tenement houses and flats ten to fourteen stories high, which greet the traveller in New York, and even in Chicago, for Chicago has but 128,000 dwelling-houses, with a population of 50,000 more than Philadelphia, according to the last census. Thus Philadelphia has nearly 60,000 more dwellings and homes than Chicago has, and more than twice the number in New York.

Pittsburgh, the undisputed centre of iron, steel, coke, aluminum, and glass manufacture, fares badly in census returns because her Scotch-Irish conservatism has prevented her from adopting the consolidation idea which gives Philadelphia and Chicago immense areas: the towns clustering round the Smoky City retain separate governments. If all were embraced in one municipality, as they should be, Pittsburgh would have more than half a million people, and rank as the sixth or seventh city in population, as she is in bank clearances. Allegheny City, really part of Pittsburgh, has grown from a village of twenty-eight hundred inhabitants in 1830 to a city of 105,287 in 1890; while the population of Pittsburgh proper increased during the same period from twelve thousand to 238,616.

Of other cities in Pennsylvania, Scranton shows an increase of wages paid in manufactures of one hundred and ninety-eight per cent. in the ten years ending in 1890, while the average wages per hand has increased from $370 in 1880 to $462 in 1890. Baltimore, Maryland, shows an increase of one hundred and twenty-one per cent. in the wages paid in manufactures, and of nearly seventy per cent. in the value of the product, the amount

for all industries being $140,401,026. Washington, D.C., while not a manufacturing city, shows large percentages of increase: three hundred and twelve per cent. in capital invested, two hundred and fifty-three per cent. in wages paid, and two hundred and four per cent. in value of product, with a total value of product of over thirty-nine million dollars.

The growth of Southern cities has been phenomenal; in some instances it is not possible to make comparisons with 1880, because at that time no such cities existed; such a city is Anniston, Alabama, which has now a population of 9,998, and a value of $2,049,022 in the product of manufactures. Roanoke, Virginia, shows a growth of population of two thousand three hundred and fifteen per cent.; and Asheville, North Carolina, of two hundred and ninety-one per cent. Birmingham, Alabama, shows a growth of seven hundred and forty-eight per cent. in population, but it is not possible to make any comparison of manufactures with 1880, as the statistics were not taken separately at that time. The city has over $5,000,000 in the value of product of manufactures, and pays over $1,500,000 in wages. Atlanta, Georgia, shows an increase of seventy-five per cent. in population, of one hundred and seventeen per cent. in the value of the product, and of two hundred and thirty-five per cent. in the wages paid in manufactures. Augusta, Georgia, shows an increase of three hundred and two per cent. in the wages paid in manufactures, and one hundred and fifty-two per cent. in the value of the product, while the average wages per hand have increased from $267 per annum in 1880 to $325 in 1890. Memphis, Tennessee, shows an increase of ninety-two per cent. in

population, and of one hundred and fifty-three per cent. in the value of the manufactured product. The amount paid in wages has increased two hundred and fifteen per cent.; the average wages have increased from $373 per annum in 1880 to $515 in 1890.

Cincinnati shows an increase in wages paid in manufactures of one hundred and nineteen per cent., the total amount being $43,934,384; the value of the product has increased sixty-seven per cent., with a total amount for 1890 of $178,650,185. The average wages per hand have increased from $359 per annum in 1880 to $496 in 1890. Cincinnati was formerly the great market for pork, and obtained the name Porkopolis. Of course it had its aristocracy, the dividing line being between the "Stick 'ems" and the "Have stuck 'ems;" but the aristocracy of older lands need not smile, for if the oldest of them traced their descent back a few generations they would stumble upon an equally trivial distinction. While Indianapolis does not show such large percentages of increase as some other cities, the amount paid in wages has increased nearly twice as fast as the population. Indianapolis has claims to be considered one of the greatest railway centres in the world. Fourteen railroads centre there, and about a hundred and forty passenger trains pass in and out of the city every day.

Readers will learn with surprise that the lake cities during the last ten years have nearly doubled. Their population in 1880 was 1,473,539, and in 1890, 2,729,108. It is difficult to realize the effect of this increase on the trade, the industries, and the transportation of these important districts. On the borders of Lake Superior three cities have been practically created—Ashland, Duluth,

and Superior. On Lake Huron we note the remarkable increase in the population of Detroit—now 205,876.

Of the fifty largest cities of the Union, the least with a population of 57,000 in 1890, nineteen had no existence in 1830. Their sites were either the unbroken prairie or an Indian settlement, with a fort and a few log huts. Chicago is the most famous example. Sixty years ago it was a trading post, where trappers and Indians bartered their pelts for fire-water and ammunition. I knew one of Chicago's first settlers well; and have often heard him speak of the little fort and the scattering log huts which marked the city's site some sixty years ago. There was scarcely a white woman in the settlement when he began trading with the Indians. In 1833 the streets of the projected town had been staked out, but no grading had been done, not even a dirt road thrown up. Such, however, was the growth of "this little mushroom town," as an early writer calls it, that in 1846 it was noted that "eight years ago (1838) the ground upon which the entire city of Chicago stands could have been bought for a sum now (1846) demanded for a front of six feet on one of the streets." Tradition tells of an early settler who averred that he had seen the time when he could have bought the "hull tarnation swamp" for a pair of old boots. To the inquiry, "Why didn't you?" he had the entirely adequate reply: "Ah, stranger, I hadn't the boots." How many chances in life do we miss just for the want of the boots!

In 1840 the population of Chicago was 4,500; ten years later, 30,000; in ten years more, 109,000. It now exceeds a million. This splendid city, "the Queen of the West," leads the world in three branches of industry; she is preëminent as a lumber market, as a provision market,

and, strange antithesis, as a manufactory of steel rails. Such a combination of "greatnesses" surely the world has not seen. Her yearly receipts of grain exceed 211,000,000 bushels. Twenty-eight million bushels can be laid away in her twenty-six elevators—a store which dwarfs the ostentatious garnering of the ancient Pharaohs as much as her enormous shipments outnumber the sacks of corn which Joseph's brethren carried away. Last year she received 3,250,359 cattle, 2,153,537 sheep, and 8,600,000 hogs—nearly 40,000 animals per day. So that there marches into Chicago every day in the year—Sundays and Saturdays included—a procession of victims, four and a half miles in length, ten animals abreast. The cattle and hogs are mostly transformed into provisions before leaving Chicago. The year was an exceptionally good year for pork-packers, but a bad one for the hogs.

"The fittest place for man to die
Is where he dies for man."

The fittest place for a hog to die is evidently Chicago, for every day—all the year round—more than twenty-five thousand "die for man" at that place of slaughter.

Chicago has, moreover, three steel rail mills within the city limits, and a fourth within thirty miles. Their combined capacity exceeds 800,000 tons annually—sufficient to put a light steel rail girdle round the earth. There were many more tons of steel rails made in and about Chicago last year than one-half the total rail product of Great Britain.

In other manufactures Chicago is also important. The census of 1890 shows that the capital invested in manufactures has increased three hundred and thirteen per cent. in

ten years, the wages paid two hundred and twenty-eight per cent.; the value of the product one hundred and forty-eight per cent., and the population one hundred and eighteen per cent.; the average wages paid per hand have increased from $436 per annum in 1880 to $589 in 1890. During the year 1892 the new buildings will aggregate seventy miles of frontage. So many tall buildings were being erected that a law was recently passed limiting the height; some of the highest contain from fifteen to twenty-one stories. The Masonic Temple is three hundred and thirteen feet in height, the highest building in the world.

One triumph after another distinguishes this home and centre of Triumphant Democracy. She is the champion record smasher. Decade after decade Chicago has mounted to a higher relative position among rival cities: twenty-fifth in 1850, ninth in 1860, fifth in 1870, fourth in 1880, and second in 1890. The present census finds her second to New York alone, and even that city she appears to challenge to a race for supremacy.

There was some surprise when she intimated her claim for the Columbian Exhibition—first an incredulous smile among some of us New Yorkers; but I was not one who smiled. It was quite fair that Chicago should be selected. The East had had its triumph in 1876 at the Philadelphia Exposition, and why should not the great West have its turn? The choice has been nobly vindicated, and the world is to see the finest, indeed the only truly artistic, buildings which have ever been erected for such a purpose. The criticism of a French artist tells the whole story: "These Chicago structures look as if they must have been made in Paris, and those for the Paris exhi-

bition now seem as if they must have been made in Chicago."

Jersey City, opposite New York, furnishes another example of rapid city growth. In 1840 the population was only 3,072; in 1890 it was 163,003. But Brooklyn, the corresponding suburb on the other side of New York Harbor, has eclipsed every city except Chicago, its population of 12,000 in 1830 having grown to 806,343 in 1890.

The growth of Cleveland, Ohio, has not been slow. In 1830 it had only 1,076 inhabitants; now it boasts 261,353. The finest avenues of residences are in this city. After seeing all that the rest of the world has to offer in that respect, I pronounce Euclid and Prospect Avenues in this lake city of Cleveland the grandest and most beautiful; though the smaller Prospect Avenue in Milwaukee, and Delaware Avenue in Buffalo, and the chief avenue of Detroit are very handsome indeed, and open for second and third prizes. Notwithstanding Cleveland is so far removed from the seaboard, she occupies the proud position of first among the shipbuilding cities in the United States. The tonnage constructed in 1890 in the United States aggregated 294,123 tons, of which 108,526 were built for the great lakes. For the two years 1888–90 the tonnage constructed at our three principal shipbuilding cities is given as follows:

	Tons.
Cleveland	71,322
Philadelphia, Pa.	53,811
Bath, Me.	49,830

The census of 1890 shows that Cleveland increased in ten years sixty-three per cent. in population, one hundred and eleven per cent. in the value of the product of her

manufactures, and two hundred and seventeen per cent. in the amount of wages paid in manufactures; the average annual wages per hand increased from $391 in 1880 to $569 in 1890.

Buffalo is another of the lake cities which shows great growth, having increased sixty-five per cent. in population in ten years, and one hundred and thirteen per cent. in the value of her manufactures; in wages paid in manufactures there is an increase of one hundred and ninety-seven per cent., while the average annual wages paid per hand has increased from $413 in 1880 to $502 in 1890.

The city of Milwaukee, with a present population of 204,468, consisted in 1834 of two log-houses. In 1835 it was laid out as a village; and the next year we find it described as a hamlet of about two hundred inhabitants. At that time the only roads leading into the city were a few Indian trails. Once in a while a wagon came winding through from Chicago. But even at this infantile age Milwaukee had begun to display the enterprise which has continued to distinguish it. In 1840 the town could boast of one brick building—a small one-story dwelling-house. There were then eleven stores in the place. During the next ten years the population increased from 1,712 to 20,061. In 1841 began the shipment of grain—a trade which has since attained an enormous development. In that year four thousand bushels of wheat—the first ever sent out of Wisconsin—were exported; but such was the imperfect provision for loading that this small shipment required three days to put on board ship. The trade thus begun, grew apace; and three years later we find that Mr. Higby, a pioneer merchant, imported a grain ware-

house from Sheboygan. The character of this structure is shown by the fact that it was afterward carried to several other places. The whole receipts for grain shipments at Milwaukee in that year did not equal those received in a single day fifteen years later, or, remarkable fact, in a single hour at present! The receipts of grain at Milwaukee now exceed forty million bushels a year. It is taken out of ships and cars, carried to the top of the elevators, and weighed and poured into bags and bins at the rate of seven thousand bushels an hour, without any manual labor. Automatic machines are the giants that do the work.

In manufactures Milwaukee shows an increase in the ten years ending in 1890 of two hundred and twenty-seven per cent. in the capital invested, one hundred and sixty-one per cent. in the wages paid, and one hundred and one per cent. in the value of the product; the average wages per hand increased from $333 in 1880 to $472 in 1890.

Detroit also shows an increase of one hundred and ninety-one per cent. in the wages paid in manufactures within the last ten years, while the average wages per hand have increased from $391 in 1880 to $494 in 1890.

A similar phenomenal growth is going on in another region. In 1870, only twenty-two years ago, except Superior and Duluth, the former a "straggling little hamlet," and the other "laid out on speculation in the woods on the lake shore," there was not a town, village, or hamlet westward on or near the line marked out for the Northern Pacific Railroad for more than a thousand miles. Between the head of the lake and the mining camps among the Rocky Mountains in Montana, no

abodes of civilized men existed, save two or three military posts and Indian agencies, and a few isolated trading stations. Northern Minnesota was a forest into which even the lumberman had not yet penetrated, save for a few miles back of Lake Superior. At present, the whole line of the railway is dotted with thriving towns.

"The town laid out on speculation in the woods" is deserving of a moment's attention. Duluth, even in the embryonic stage, was christened by an enthusiastic orator as "the zenith city of the unsalted seas." The juvenile city is now the terminus of ten thousand miles of railway. It has become, in fifteen years, a great wheat and lumber market, a lake port of great importance, and is destined to rival the twin cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, in importance.

No statement can be made of the growth of Duluth in manufactures during the decade, because in 1880 the returns for the city were included in those for the county; but the figures show that there were employed in 1890 4,445 hands, to whom $2,183,510 was paid in wages, and that the value of the product was nearly nine million dollars.

The State of Minnesota contained in 1880 about 800,000 people, of which over 88,000 resided in the capital, St. Paul, and its twin sister town, Minneapolis. In 1890 the State population had increased to 1,301,826, nearly sixty-seven per cent. in ten years. Greatest wonder of all, however, is the growth of the city of Minneapolis. In 1880 its population was about 47,000; in 1890, 164,738—a gain of over two hundred and fifty-one per cent.; St. Paul increased from 41,473 to 133,156—a gain of two hundred and twenty-one per cent. in 1890. In 1848

this region was a wilderness, the entire territory, nearly twice the size of the present State, having only about 3,000 inhabitants. A trading house was built on the site of St. Paul in 1842, and round it gradually grew a small community of whites and half-breeds, engaged in barter with the Indians and trappers. In 1850 the population numbered 1,112. To quote the words of a writer of that period, "St. Paul is in the wilderness. Look where you will, the primitive features of the surrounding country remain unchanged, and the wild animals and Indians still haunt the grounds to which ages of occupancy have given them a prescriptive right." A few miles away, a group of houses might have been seen clustering around the Falls of St. Anthony. There, in 1848, a saw-mill was put into operation by the aid of a temporary dam built across the east channel of the river. As the forests fell before the lumberman's axe, and emigrant farmers brought in the plough, flouring mills were built at the falls, and Minneapolis emerged from the country-village state. Checked in their growth by the war in 1861, and more seriously by the Sioux massacre of 1862, Minneapolis and St. Paul experienced renewed prosperity in 1864 and 1865, and since then the two towns have gone forward, marching across the dividing forest to meet each other, and will eventually mingle their suburbs, and form a city a dozen miles across, with a population of a million souls. The child is living who will see all this and more.

As we had Alexander Mitchell dominating Milwaukee in the past, so no one can think of Minneapolis without recalling that notable family, the "Washburn Brothers." Their career is typically American. These Washburns are a family indeed—seven sons, all of them men of mark.

Several have distinguished themselves so greatly as to become part of their country's history. The family record includes a secretary of state, two governors, four members of Congress, a major-general in the army, and another second in command in the navy. Two served as foreign ministers, two were State legislators, and one a surveyor-general. As all these services were performed during the Civil War, there were Washburns in nearly every department of the State, laboring in camp and council for the Republic at the sacrifice of great personal interests. All came forth from peaceful avocations to serve their country as their first duty. The Union saved, they are found to-day pursuing their industrial occupations as of old. The nation having no enemies to conquer, they turn their energies to the work of feeding it.

Is not this turning the sword into the plough-share, and the spear into the pruning-hook? Let the nation be endangered, or an emergency arise where, in the judgment and conscience of such men, they can perform a greater use in public than in private life, and they are once more upon the stage of action. The Republic has such citizens by thousands, and yet the privileged classes of Europe assiduously spread the belief among the masses abroad that the Republic lacks pure and distinguished men to guide her councils. Believe me, fellow-citizens, no nation upon earth has such wealth of patriotism, men with such power to conceive, or such ability to execute, as rests quietly in reserve, but ever ready for emergencies, in this democracy. It is this reserve force which has kept the Republic steadily upon her course. It votes or fights as may be necessary, and never shirks a duty. When the ship of State is in smooth waters,

more important matters require its attention, and the governing power goes below; but, mark you, when the wind blows this captain walks the deck. The Republic has never been allowed to sail far out of the true course, and never will be; there is too much science on board, and too many independent observations are taken and compared in the full blaze of the sun, not to find the true reckoning and follow it closely, steadily, to the desired haven. This reserve was seen forcibly during the four years during which the Union was imperilled. When a leader was needed one was found in an attorney's office in Illinois—a great, heaven-born leader, Lincoln. When foreign relations were dangerous in the extreme, and even our mother country stood threatening, Seward proved himself a diplomatist of the first order. For Secretary of War a genius was taken from the practice of the law in Pittsburgh. No man since the days of Carnot has waged war as did Stanton. "The armies will move now," said a friend, when his appointment was announced, "if they move to the devil." Stanton was a Cromwellian kind of man; he walked straight to his end, either to triumph or to die. His life he could give and would give that the nation should live — that was his duty; victory might come, or defeat—that was not his affair. When generals to lead the armies were needed, the great leader came from a tannery in Galena; the second, from teaching in a college. All these were from peaceful occupations, and every one of them resigned power poor men. The families of several of them were provided for by private subscriptions among friends. Politics are but means to an end. When the laws of a country are perfect, and equality of rights and privileges reached, there is far more

important work to be performed at home than in legislative halls. Hence the ablest and best men in the Republic are not found as a class trifling their time away doing the work of mediocrity. But let great issues rise, and see who come to the front—a body of men superior to any to be found elsewhere in the world.

Already Minneapolis is the greatest wheat market in the West, and unlike other large receiving points, four-fifths of all wheat received there is manufactured into flour before shipment. The milling trade is increasing at a prodigious rate. One-fifth of all the flour exported from the United States is sent direct from Minneapolis on through bills of lading. The capacity of the mills is over ninety thousand barrels per day; and one of the Washburn mills alone has made over seven thousand barrels of flour in one day. Surely no rival of this can be found elsewhere. Yet flouring is not the only industry of this youthful giant. It is among the first, if not the first, in the manufacture of lumber. Its saw-mills consume an enormous amount of timber every year. After forest fires, Minneapolis is probably the worst enemy of forests. Minneapolis justifiably boasts that she is "a city of mechanics." Her manufactures exceeded seventy-five million dollars in 1890, while her trade, exclusive of flour and lumber, reached an almost equal sum.

If the flour made by Minneapolis in one year were put into barrels, and these set end to end and roped together, they would make a pontoon bridge from New York to Ireland.

The growth of these two cities in manufactures and in wealth has been still greater than in population, Minneapolis having increased in assessed valuation four hundred

and eighty-five per cent.; and in the capital invested in manufactures three hundred and thirty-three per cent.; the amount paid in wages has increased four hundred and twenty-five per cent., and the average wages per hand from $483 in 1880 to $558 in 1890.

St. Paul shows an increase for the decade of four hundred and six per cent. in assessed valuation of property; of three hundred and seventy-seven per cent. in capital invested in manufactures; and of three hundred and six per cent. in amount paid in wages in manufactures; while the average wages per hand have increased from $431 in 1880 to $565 in 1890.

St. Louis during the past decade added a hundred thousand to its population. The mileage of railways tributary to the city increased from 35,000 to 57,000 miles, an increase of sixty-one per cent., while the mileage centring in the city has increased over 10,000 miles, and is now more than 25,000 miles. In 1890 the city received 15,000,000 tons of freight, an increase of about 6,400,000 tons over 1880. In spite of the change from water to rail, its waterways are still a source of profit. Over $80,000,000 has sought investment in new industries since 1880. Over 49,000 additional artisans have been employed, making a total of about 90,000. Fifty-two million dollars is annually paid in wages, the pay-roll having increased $34,000,000 since 1880. The value of the manufactured product has grown from about $114,000,000 to over $225,000,000.

Denver, the Queen City of the Plains, has grown almost as rapidly as Jonah's gourd. In the early sixties it was a stage station on the overland route, and soon acquired importance as a supply point for the miners in

South Park and on the Upper Arkansas. In 1869 it was a thoroughly characteristic frontier town. Its population of perhaps 4,000 souls supported an almost fabulous number of saloons, dance halls, and gambling dens. It was one of the liveliest cities on the American continent, and, withal, one of the most interesting. Standing on the frontier, and also near the border line of the old Mexican civilization, its population was composed of Americans of all grades of culture, Mexicans, Chinese, and Indians—a strange and incongruous mixture. The graduate of Harvard, descendant from Pilgrim ancestors, here met upon equal, or, perhaps, unequal, terms, the unlettered prospector; for this was "a poor daddy-country"—a man was rated for what he could do, not for what his fathers had done.

Since those days, twenty-three years ago, the town has grown; it has spread east, west, north, and south over the barren plains; it has a population, with its suburbs, of 125,000. Twelve railroad lines come together in its Union Depot, bringing the products of the East, and supplying the miners in the mountains to the West. Wages in manufactures have increased three hundred and eighty per cent.; capital, five hundred and thirty-three per cent.; value of product, one hundred and eighty-nine per cent.; population, one hundred and ninety-nine per cent., and assessed valuation, three hundred and eleven per cent.

Denver was one of the great surprises of my visit to the Pacific Coast last year. The solidity of the structures in the city, and the beautiful homes in the suburbs, give it the appearance of an old and settled community. We found there one of the prettiest little theatres we ever saw, and certainly one of the most beautiful of

churches. In one feature surely Denver is in advance. This church had two private boxes, reached by special staircases, which, in answer to our inquiry, were said to be intended for the use of invalids, or those who, being greatly stricken in grief, did not wish to appear before the congregation. In St. George's at Windsor her Majesty has a similar box, but then she is supposed to be of different clay from other "miserable sinners." One is curious to know upon what terms these private boxes are rented, and how the claims of different highly respected deacons and elders are reconciled if more than two desire boxes for any special ceremony. We feared at the time that this private box idea might prove the entering of the thin end of the wedge, and this fear was confirmed when we afterward learned that there is now building in the city of Denver a church with thirty-six of these private boxes. "A High Church Episcopalian edifice, no doubt," the reader says. But no; what added still further to our surprise was that this is a strictly orthodox Presbyterian church. Here is a new movement well worth watching.

Kansas City is another example of Western phenomenal growth. Thirty-eight years ago (1855) its population was three hundred; in fifteen years (1870) it had increased more than a hundred-fold, to thirty-two thousand; by 1880 it had again nearly doubled, and in 1890 it was 132,716. Between 1880 and 1890 this city enjoyed wonderful prosperity; real estate values increased enormously, and the volume of the city's business swelled proportionately. It had a tremendous boom. Wages in manufactures increased five hundred and twenty-two per cent.; the value of the product, three hundred and

seventy-six per cent.; the assessed valuation, six hundred and seventy-nine per cent. It is now, however, taking a rest, after a career almost unexampled, no doubt to be followed by another bound forward.

Omaha, another city upon the eastern border of the Great Plains, has had an equally precocious growth. In 1860 a little borough of less than two thousand inhabitants, it has grown in thirty years to a great city of over one hundred and forty thousand souls. Capital has increased during the last decade seven hundred and forty-six per cent.; wages, five hundred and forty-three per cent., and value of product, eight hundred and four per cent.

Salt Lake City is another surprise to the visitor. The Mormons are fast becoming but a small section of the population. The Gentiles had elected their ticket just previous to our visit. The Mormon problem is fast solving itself. It only needs to be let alone. We were glad to learn from the authorities of the church that polygamy is no longer required by the tenets of their faith, a revelation having been received that it is the duty of good Mormons to obey the laws of the nation upon this point, as upon all others. The Mormons are to be credited with having done a great work at Salt Lake City, having made the desert literally blossom as the rose. There is good stuff in men who bear persecution for what they conceive to be divine, and now that the only objectionable feature in their faith is removed, there should be no further difficulty.

Salt Lake City shows an increase in population of one hundred and sixteen per cent. in the decade; the assessed valuation of property has increased six hundred and

thirty-eight per cent., and the capital invested in manufactures two hundred and six per cent.; the amount paid in wages in manufactures has increased one hundred and ninety-five per cent., and the average wages per hand from $459 in 1880 to $652 in 1890.

Portland, Oregon, more than doubled its population between 1880 and 1890; the assessed valuation of the city is nearly twice as much in 1890 as in 1880, and while only eleven hundred hands were employed in manufactures in the county of Multnomah in 1880, there are now 9,240 employed in the city of Portland alone, to whom over $7,000,000 is paid in wages; the total value of the product of manufactures is over $24,000,000.

Seattle, Washington, has increased its population from 3,500 in 1880 to 42,800 in 1890; its assessed valuation from $1,600,000 to $38,800,000; over 3,600 people are employed in manufactures, while but 174 were employed in 1880 in the entire county in which the city is situated; nearly $3,000,000 is paid in wages to these hands, and the value of the product is over $9,000,000.

Tacoma, Washington, had in 1880 a population of 1,098; in 1890 it was 36,006; the assessed valuation has increased from $280,000 in 1880 to $29,750,346 in 1890; while there are 1,921 persons employed in manufactures now, against 130 in the entire county in 1880, to whom $1,315,925 is paid in wages.

Perhaps the most novel feature to the visitor of these three cities, Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma, is their cable and electric systems. The same may be said of Los Angeles, Riverside, and other new towns upon the Pacific. The visiting party arrives at the depot in the morning, and after breakfast a committee of citizens kindly come

and offer to escort them through the city. No carriages are needed. The best of all vehicles passes the depot every few minutes. We enter an electric car, and are shot over hills, up and down, five or six miles, transferred to another line, make the circuit, stop at places of interest, and in two or three hours have done the city much more thoroughly, with less fatigue, and with infinitely greater comfort than was possible under the old carriage system, even if two days had been consumed. Sitting on the front of one of these cars, the excursion to the lake six miles from Seattle is something not to be forgotten. We climb over hills and descend into valleys at an exhilarating rate. At Portland the ascent is something wonderful. We are whisked up a mountain and shown the land for many miles around. The electric railway is revolutionizing city transit, and for suburban traffic it seems likely to prove a formidable competitor with the steam railway. In nothing has the United States advanced more rapidly during the last ten years than in this mode of transportation. But even in Europe we find this American novelty under rapid development. We find electric cars from Vevay to the Castle of Chillon, from Naples to Posilippo, from Rome to the Falls of Tivoli, and from Florence to Fiesole; everywhere electricity begins to show its power.

San Francisco is another mushroom. In 1844 fifty people were settled in log-huts on this barren peninsula. A few whalemen and Northeast traders occasionally called at this settlement, and bartered food and clothing for tallow, hides, and horns. Gradually the embryo village grew, and in 1847 certain plots of ground on the water-front were sold; the price ranging from $10 to $20 per lot. Six years later, such was the rapid enhancement

of values consequent upon the discovery of gold on the American River, that inferior lots brought from $9,000 to $16,000; from $100 to $10,000 in fourteen years; four small building plots brought $1,200,000, equal to $300,000 per block. This was in the palmy days depicted by Colonel Mulberry Sellers, when you had but to lay out a town site into lots, every one of them a corner lot, and sit down and figure just how much money you wanted, and then rake it in. Thirty-seven years sufficed to raise the settlement of fifty persons to a magnificent city with nearly 300,000 inhabitants. The bartering of a few hides has grown into an annual trade exceeding twenty millions sterling.

The census of 1890 shows that San Francisco has increased much more rapidly in manufactures than in population. The value of the product of her manufactures was $131,263,713. Los Angeles has more than quadrupled her population in the ten years ending 1890; her assessed valuation has increased nearly nine-fold, and while no comparison can be made of the manufacturing interests with 1880, because the city was not reported separately from the county at that time, yet the number of hands now employed in the city is seven times as great as the number employed in 1880 in the entire county, and the amount paid in wages is more than ten times as great.

Examples without number of phenomenal growth of cities and towns might be cited, for the line stretches on, one seemingly miraculous till the other comes. From East to West, from North to South, up and down and across the map of the Republic the traveller may pass in imaginative flight, sure of meeting everywhere these cities

and towns which, springing up like mushrooms, have nevertheless taken root like the oak.

A beautiful tribute to the mother land is found in the names of towns and cities in the new. As even on the crowded, tiny *Mayflower* the stern Puritan found room to bring and nurse with tender care the daisy of his native land, so the citizen, driven from the dear old home, ever sighs, "England, with all thy faults I love thee still." Surely, why not? Her faults are as one, her virtues as a thousand. And having a new home to christen, with swelling heart and tearful eye, and a love for the native land which knows no end and never can know end while breath clings to the body, he conjures up the object of his fondest love and calls his new home Boston, York, Brighton, Hartford, Stratford, Lynn, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Durham, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, Norwich, Cambridge, Oxford, Canterbury, Rochester, London, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Middlesboro', Chester, Coventry, Plymouth, or other dear name of the place where in life's young days he had danced o'er the sunny braes, heard the lark sing in the heavens, and the mavis pour forth its glad song from the hedge-row. There is scarcely a place in the old land which has not its namesake in the new. Take Pittsburgh, which is itself named after the great Pitt, and within a few miles' radius the British visitor can walk the streets of Soho, Birmingham, and Manchester. All these were suburban places a few years ago, and now they are as crowded as their prototypes. Brighton, Rochester, Newport, Middlesex, Newcastle are only a few miles away. This love of the old household words is carried even farther. The Briton travels through the Republic living in a succession of

hotels, Victorias, Clarendons, Windsors, Westminsters, Albemarles. He might think himself at home again except that the superior advantages of the new hostelries serve to remind him at every turn that things are not as he has been accustomed to. So that our household gods are not only the same in the new as in the old land, but we call them by the same names and love them. And what American worthy of the name but shall reverence the home of his fathers, and wish it God-speed? When the people reign in the old home as they do in the new, the two nations will become one people, and the bonds which unite them the world combined shall not break asunder. The republican upon this side of the Atlantic will extend his hand to his fellow upon the other, and resolve that no difference between them shall ever lead to war. All parties in the Republic already stand pledged to the doctrine of peaceful arbitration. The reign of the masses is the road to universal peace. Thrones and royal families, and the influences necessarily surrounding jealous dynasties, make for war; the influences surrounding Democracy make for peace.

CHAPTER IV

CONDITIONS OF LIFE

"That America marks the highest level, not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained, will be the judgment of those who look not at the favored few for whose benefit the world seems hitherto to have framed its institutions, but at the whole body of the people."—BRYCE'S *American Commonwealth*.

ONE has always to remember in writing of the United States that he is treating of a new country. It is impossible that there can yet be found here many of the comforts and conveniences of a land which has been settled and constantly improved upon for a thousand years. The very sparseness of population entails many discomforts. The visitor from Britain—the land which is so exquisitely groomed—is struck with the temporary character of our wharves and structures, and of our houses, and the general lack of neatness that prevails throughout the country. The execrable roads which we still suffer from, and even the streets of our cities, are appalling. He is accustomed to everything being so carefully attended to, and in its place; no surplus wood, or broken-down fences, but all spick and span to the highest degree. This state of affairs pertains to a finished country. The republican has been so busy building a home, he has not yet had time to put it in perfect order. He has made a good beginning, however, in the Eastern States,

and the comforts and conveniences of life there are rapidly assuming the English standard. In good time the work will be perfected in city and country; but it will take time. It is encouraging, meanwhile, to know that amid so much that is marvelous in American history, nothing stands out with greater prominence than the rapid amelioration of the conditions of life. The progress of invention and the increase of wealth have made what were once the luxuries of the few, the necessaries of to-day for the masses of the people.

Let us glance at the conditions of life in America in the colonial and early days of the Republic. A century ago the continent of America was for the most part a wilderness. A long strip of the Atlantic coast was sparsely populated, and a few small towns were scattered unevenly over the narrow territory. But behind this the country was in the same wild condition as when the Pilgrim Fathers landed, a hundred and fifty years before. There were few roads through the backwoods, and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were as widely separated from those of Virginia as from those of the old home, all intercommunication of the colonies being by coasting vessels. After the formation of the American Union, however, the young nation, full of enthusiasm and the hot blood of youth, vigorously applied itself to the development of the country. Canals and turnpike roads were built, and by 1830 there were open for use one hundred and fifteen thousand miles of highway, and upward of two thousand miles of canals, the latter costing nearly $65,000,000 (£13,000,000). Canals and turnpikes were then the mighty forces of civilization, the wonderful means of communication. Eight miles per hour by the mail-coach, and six

miles per hour by the express packet upon the "raging canal," were rapid transit in those days; and the drowsy rural community rubbed its eyes and asked, What was the world coming to?

Notwithstanding this, the country was very backward, and there was little, considered in the light of modern comforts, to make life worth living. In the newspapers of the time, and in books written by travellers, we get faint glimpses of the inconveniences under which the past generation labored; but the full significance of many a little statement written fifty years ago is not to be realized in these days of luxurious refinement and elegant ease. Here, for example, is an extract from *Niles's Register*, March 20, 1830:

"A letter written in Baltimore has been replied to from Norfolk in forty-one hours, a distance of about four hundred miles—by steam!"

The note of exclamation appended to the statement seems oddly incongruous in these days of telegraphs, telephones, and two-cent postage. The difficulty of communication in those early days is further exemplified by the statement in the *American Quarterly Observer* for July, 1834, that—

"A package of books can be more readily sent from Boston to London than to Cincinnati. A book printed in Boston has been republished in Edinburgh before it has reached Cincinnati."

And here are a few passages from Miss Martineau's "Society in America," date of 1834–5:

"The great cities are even yet ill supplied from the country. Provisions are very dear: . . . butchers' meat throughout the country is far inferior to what it will be when an increased amount of labor, and means of transport, shall encourage improvements in

the pasturage and care of stock. While fowls, butter, and eggs are still sent from Vermont into Boston, there is no such thing to be had there as a joint of tender meat. In one house in Boston, where a very numerous family lives in handsome style, and where I several times met large dinner parties, I never saw an ounce of meat, except ham. The table was covered with birds, in great variety, and well cooked; but all winged creatures. The only tender, juicy meat I saw in the country was a sirloin of beef at Charleston, and the whole provision of a gentleman's table in Kentucky. At one place, there was nothing but veal on the table for a month; in a town where I staid ten days, nothing was to be had but beef; and throughout the South the traveller meets with little else than pork, under all manner of disguises, and fowls."

Miss Martineau, writing from Philadelphia, further remarks that—

"All the ladies of a country town, not very far off, were wearing gloves too bad to be mended, or none at all, because none had come up by the canal for many weeks.

"At Washington, I wanted some ribbon for my straw bonnet; and in the whole place, in the season, I could find only six pieces of ribbon to choose from. [She would find nearly two hundred shops to-day, each filled with ribbon.]

"Throughout the entire country (out of the cities), I was struck with the discomforts of broken windows which appeared on every side. Large farm-houses, flourishing in every other respect, had dismal-looking windows. Persons who happen to live near a canal, or other quiet water road, have baskets of glass of various sizes sent to them from the towns, and glaze their own windows. But there is no bringing glass over a corduroy, or mud, or rough limestone road; and those who have no other highways must get along with such windows as it may please the weather and the children to leave them."

Even as late as 1845 this isolation was the lot of all who lived at a distance from the coast. Sir Charles Lyell, visiting Milledgeville, Georgia, in that year, relates that

the landlady of the hotel regarded Lady Lyell as quite a curiosity because she did not know how to make soap; and the good dame told her how the maids "make almost everything in the house, even to the caps I wear." And it appears from contemporary records that soap and candles were homemade for many years after, and homespun cloth was largely worn by the people. In the rural districts of New England at present many houses still have in their garrets the old family spinning-wheel and loom.

William Cobbett, writing in 1823 of Long Island, says:

"There, and indeed all over the American States, north of Maryland, and especially in the New England States, almost the whole of both linen and woollen used in the country, and a large part of that used in towns, is made in the farm-houses. There are thousands and thousands of families who never use either except of their own making. All but the weaving is done by the family. There is a loom in the house, and the weaver goes from house to house. I once saw about three thousand farmers, or rather country people, at a horse-race in Long Island, and my opinion was that there were not five hundred who were not dressed in homespun coats. As to linen, no farmer's family thinks of buying linen."

The discomforts of life to those in settled districts were few and slight compared with those experienced by settlers who went West. Of these a writer in *De Bow's Review*, in 1825, says:

"Their journey was made after long preparation, and was toilsome, slow, and expensive. They were compelled to bring their heavy tools and bulky implements of husbandry, their kitchen utensils and fragile furniture, by a difficult navigation and over heavy roads; several years were required to make a small clearing, rude improvements, and enough coarse food for domestic use."

Far removed from all means of communication, the Western pioneer was practically cut off from the world. No ubiquitous postal system enabled him to keep up communication with his friends "down East," or in the "old country." Newspapers rarely penetrated into the wild regions where he lived; and if he wished to visit his nearest neighbor he had to ride many miles across a rough and often hostile country. The traveller on the Western rivers occasionally saw a solitary individual, perhaps a woman, paddling up stream in a canoe to visit a neighbor twenty or thirty miles off. Letters to the settlers were sent to the nearest town, perhaps a hundred miles away, where they lay for months until the person they were destined for, or some neighbor, could find time to go for them.

The rates of postage in those days were very high. A letter of one sheet was carried any distance not exceeding thirty miles for six cents; and this sum was doubled or trebled if the letter consisted of two or three sheets. For any distance exceeding four hundred miles the charge was twenty-five cents per sheet.

Primitive simplicity prevailed in municipal arrangements where these existed at all. A notice copied from the walls of the bar-room of the village inn at Sandisfield, Massachusetts, in 1833, well illustrates this:

"All persons who have neglected to pay their taxes or bills committed to Josiah H. Sage, collector, are hereby notified that in consequence of the sickness of the said collector, the bills are at my house, where those who are willing can have opportunity to pay their taxes if they improve it *soon;* and those who neglect may expect to pay a constable with fee for collecting."

Scavenging was done by pigs which were allowed to

run at large through the streets. Sir Charles Lyell describes them as going about Cincinnati in large numbers, no person in particular claiming ownership. Even in New York these scavengers were long tolerated on the sidewalks because of their supposed usefulness. It was not uncommon thirty-five years ago for pedestrians to be thrust into the road by the dirty snout of some city hog. A newly imported Irishman declared, on being so pushed into the gutter, that it was "a sthrange country where the pigs were all loose and the stones all tied."

The streets of towns were usually unlighted at night. New York, however, used in 1830 thirty-five thousand gallons of oil for two hundred and ninety-nine street lamps, "besides gas." In a description of Cincinnati in 1831, a writer in the *New England Magazine* says:

"Every citizen, who ventures abroad when the moon is absent, carries his own lantern or runs the risk of breaking his neck. It is a curious sight to see the lights hurrying in all directions, passing, repassing, and flitting to and fro, as if dancing at a masquerade of genii."

New York in 1837 was destitute of a supply of good and wholesome water. There were numerous wells with pumps in all parts of the city; but the pump water was generally considered deleterious. Rain water was largely used by the citizens, most of the houses being provided with good cisterns. A contemporary writer says:

"Many parts of the city are now supplied with water for the table brought from the upper wards in casks. On the East and North Rivers, in some instances, it is pure, and in others its goodness is but little better than the present well water. The tables of the wealthy are supplied from this source, while the poorer classes have to resort to such wells and pumps as are in their neighborhood.

It has been ascertained that there are now brought to the city by water carts, six hundred hogsheads, for which there is paid one dollar and twenty-five cents for each hogshead (or about one cent per gallon), amounting to $750 per day, or $273,750 per annum, for water from that source."

It is not surprising that under such conditions New York, now one of the best-watered cities in the world, suffered several severe epidemics of cholera, which in 1832 "raged to a fearful extent, nearly depopulating it."

Other towns were as badly off in regard to water supply; a circumstance which acquires prominence when viewed in connection with the great fires which periodically destroyed large portions of the towns of the Union. Contributing to these frequent disasters was the imperfect apparatus at that date for extinguishing fires. So inoperative were the fire-engines, that, in the report of a fire at New Orleans, in *Niles's Register* for May 8, 1830, it is related that though within one hundred yards of the Mississippi, little water was to be had. It was not until 1853 that the steam fire-engine was made a practical machine, and it was much later before it came into general use.

In the early days, when men had an entire continent to bring into subjection, and when the work of doing this was doubly difficult through the imperfection of machinery, the business of life was work—work in its most Carlylean sense of intense, unrelaxed labor. Men had no time to waste in fashionable frivolity; and even the graver kinds of amusement were, except in the older cities of the East, little indulged in. Mrs. Trollope, a name long discordant to American ears, commented on this circumstance:

"I never saw any people who appeared to live so much without

amusement as the Cincinnatians. Billiards are forbidden by law; so are cards. To sell a pack of cards in Ohio subjects the seller to a penalty of $50. They have no public balls, excepting, I think, six during the Christmas holidays. They have no concerts. They have no dinner parties."

To this emphatic "*never*" is probably required the Sullivan-Gilbert qualification, "hardly ever." To say that the people of Cincinnati, fifty years ago, *never* went to balls, *never* attended concerts, *never* dined out, is obviously straining the literal truth. Still it is unquestionable that social recreations were few and far between in those days.

Although facts prove that the general standard of comfort was necessarily very much lower in the early part of the period we are considering than now, there yet prevailed a degree of general well-being unknown at the same time in Europe. Arfedson, a Swedish traveller, who visited the country in 1832–34, has thus placed on record his impressions:

"A European travelling in this direction (New York State) cannot help admiring the general appearance of comfort and prosperity so singularly striking. To an inhabitant of the Scandinavian peninsula, accustomed to different scenes, it is peculiarly gratifying to witness, instead of gorgeous palaces by the side of poor huts, a row of neat country houses, inhabited by independent farmers."

A Swedish servant, lately arrived in America, at the date in question, on looking around and perceiving the happy state so generally diffused, exclaimed, with surprise and characteristic simplicity: "Sir, have the goodness to inform me where the peasantry live in this country?"

In works on America written about that period, we everywhere find expressions of surprise at the absence of beggars. Sir Charles Lyell, inquiring in his "First Visit"

in 1840, "to what combination of causes the success of national education is to be attributed," and replying to his own query, makes a statement which is here relevant. He says:

"First, there is no class in want or extreme poverty here, partly because the facility of migrating to the West, for those who are without employment, is so great, and also, in part, from the check to improvident marriages, created by the high standard of living to which the lowest people aspire, a standard which education is raising higher and higher from day to day."

As a further result of this universal prosperity, there was less crime than in the older countries, where life was difficult.

"The number of persons apprehended by the police of the city of London, in 1832, was seventy-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-four. The population of London being twenty times that of Boston, the same proportion would give for Boston, thirty-six hundred and forty-one, instead of the actual number, nineteen hundred and four."

But probably the greatest contrast of all was that between the low status of the factory operatives in England and the high status of the same class in America. In England, forty years ago, the factory hand was a mere machine—a drudge, ill-fed, ill-housed, addicted to low pleasures, with no hope on earth, and scant knowledge of heaven. In America the female operatives were usually farmers' daughters, who entered the factory to make a little money with which to set up housekeeping when they married. Their intellectual status is shown by the fact that at Lowell, Massachusetts, a magazine was published consisting entirely of articles and poems written by girls employed in the factories. By a judicious superin-

tendence their morals were cared for, none being permitted to live in unauthorized lodging houses; and the result was that the girls of the Lowell factories were celebrated as much for their virtue as for their intellectual superiority. Unfortunately all this is changed. Immigrant operatives from Europe and Canada came in and supplanted those of New England; and at the present time the condition of the American factory hand, though decidedly better than that of the European operative, is said to be not nearly so high as it was forty years ago.

The glimpses we are thus able to obtain of this period (1830) show us a people scattered for the most part along the Atlantic seaboard. A few aggregations of people at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore had made good their claim to rank as cities. The roads of America—still, with some exceptions, the worst perhaps in the civilized world—were then only dirt lanes, almost impassable during the rainy season, but excellent in summer and during the hard frosts of winter. Stage-coaches ran between the cities at intervals which to us seem absurdly rare; and sailing packets, propelled by steam, and on the canals express packets, drawn by horses, divided the passenger traffic with the stage-coaches. Enterprising pioneers had pushed westward beyond the Alleghanies into the Ohio valley, and even as far as the plains of Illinois. The immigrant travelled in his own wagon to his new home in the then "far" West. During the long and hazardous journey, his family lived the life of roaming gypsies.

The people's dress was of the cheapest and simplest character. A rough cassinette cloth was used for the best dress of the men, and few women out of the principal

cities aspired to a silk gown. In 1830 cotton calico was worn by most women, even of the well-to-do class. The servant problem, to-day such a difficult one to the American housewife, was much easier of solution then; for, as there were fewer foreign women available for domestic service, native Americans had to be employed. These were not called servants, but "help"; and it was the custom for them to sit at the family table, and in other ways to be treated as equals and members of the family. Such an arrangement was hardly an inconvenience where so much simplicity of life prevailed. A repugnance then existed to all distinctions in dress. No coachman was ever seen in livery, nor did servants dress in any prescribed fashion. Concerning this trait Miss Martineau writes:

"One laughable peculiarity at the British Legation (at Washington) was the confusion of tongues among the servants, who ask you to take fish, flesh, and fowl, in Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, Irish, or French. The foreign ambassadors are terribly plagued about servants. No American will wear livery, and there is no reason why any American should. But the British ambassador must have livery servants. He makes what compromise he can, allowing his people to appear without livery out of doors, except on state occasions; but he is obliged to pick up his domestics from among foreigners who are in want of a subsistence for a short time, and are sure to go away as soon as they can find employment in which the wearing a livery is not a requisite."

Such was the repugnance to livery that policemen dressed like ordinary citizens. Even New York City did not give its police a distinctive dress until 1845. Other cities followed later, until now it would be difficult to distinguish the police force in any American city from the metropolitan police of London. Coachmen's liveries are

less gaudy in America than in Europe. We have not yet adopted powdered-haired coachmen and flunkeys with stuffed calves, nor brilliantly colored coaches.

When the Pennsylvania Railroad Company decided that conductors and passenger-train men upon its lines should be distinguished from passengers by a uniform official dress, serious doubts were entertained whether the requirement would not lead to universal refusal to wear livery. In this case, as with the police force, the obvious advantage of the men in authority being known at once by their uniform was finally recognized by the employees.

It is a sentiment well worth humoring, however—this dislike to distinctive badges, except when clearly useful. Unless so, let republican citizens be independent, and differ even in dress.

There was scarcely a private carriage in Western cities in those days. People rode on horseback or in rude wagons, or, at best, in one-horse chaises. An old lady, whom the writer knew well and honored, kept the first carriage in Pittsburgh; and the lady who first had a coachman in livery, a colored man fond of display, died recently. If the dress, conveniences, and homes of the people were of the simplest character, so was the food. It was, however, very cheap. Eggs were three half-pence a dozen, and a leg of lamb cost only a shilling. Foreign wine was so rare and costly as to be almost unknown. The importations of wine in 1831 amounted to only a million and a half dollars. Barter was a common mode of payment. Workmen, even in cities, received orders upon stores for their labor. Wages were generally low. Laborers received sixty-two cents (three shillings) per day,

and two dollars (eight shillings) per day was long considered remarkably high wages, and was given only to very skilful workmen. Salaries were even lower in proportion. The late president of the great Pennsylvania Railway received only $1,500 per annum as late as 1855, when he was superintendent of the western division of the line. I was overwhelmed when, as his successor, I received $250 more per annum. Notwithstanding low wages, the regularity of work, the cheapness of necessaries, and the simplicity of life enabled the people to save considerable sums every year.

Such as there was of fashion was in the direction of the plainest living, and in opposition to ostentation in residence, furniture, dress, food, or equipage. It was republican to be plain, simple, unaffected, and of the people. Kid gloves, dress coats, and silk dresses were hardly known west of the Alleghanies. There were no millionaires in those days. Men with fifty or a hundred thousand dollars (£10,000 to £20,000) were spoken of throughout the country as the millionaire is now. Indeed, there are probably more millionaires in New York City to-day than there were men in the whole country in 1830 who were worth a hundred thousand dollars. The first pianoforte manufactory was founded in 1822, but was so insignificant that in 1853 it turned out only fifteen pianos a week. Few carriages were made till 1840. Works of art were rarely seen. The first picture gallery of any consequence was that of the Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia, opened in 1811. Other cities remained till a recent date without important art collections. Libraries existed in colleges and in the public buildings of the State capitals, but few collections of books were accessible to

the people. Previous to 1830 only three or four cities had such libraries, and these were unimportant.

In those days every village and country district had its universal genius who could turn his hand to anything, from drawing a tooth to mending a clock. The doctor of divinity had usually the functions of doctor of medicine as well. The doctor of the body had no brother doctor of the soul; he was both himself. The lawyer was attorney, counsellor, real-estate agent, banker, and barrister in one. With increasing population, handicrafts and professions have become specialized; and communities, however small, are now generally well supplied with men trained to their special vocations, to which they confine themselves.

A community of toilers with an undeveloped continent before them, and destitute of the refinements and elegancies of life—such was the picture presented by the Republic sixty years ago. Contrasted with that of to-day, we might almost conclude that we were upon another planet and subject to different primary conditions. The development of an unequaled transportation system brings the products of one section to the doors of another, the tropical fruits of Florida and California to Maine, and the ice of New England to the Gulf States. Altogether life has become vastly better worth living than it was a century ago.

Among the rural communities, the change in the conditions is mainly seen in the presence of labor-saving devices, lessening the work in house and field. Mowing and reaping machines, horse-rakes, steam plows and threshers, render man's part easy and increase his productive power. Railroads and highways connect him

with the rest of the world, and he is no longer isolated or dependent upon his petty village. Markets for his produce are easy of access, and transportation swift and cheap. "If the roads throughout the country are yet poor compared with those of Europe, the need of good roads has been rendered less imperative by the omnipresent railroad. It is the superiority of the iron highway in America which has diverted attention from the country roads. It is matter of congratulation, however, that this subject is at last attracting attention. Nothing would contribute so much to the happiness of life in the country as such perfect roads as those of Scotland. It is a difficult problem, but its solution will well repay any amount of expenditure necessary. Macaulay's test of the civilization of a people—the condition of their roads—must be interpreted, in this age of steam, to include railroads. Communication between great cities is now cheaper and more comfortable than in any other country. Upon the principal railway lines, the cars—luxurious drawing-rooms by day, and sleeping chambers by night—are ventilated by air, warmed and filtered in winter, and cooled in summer. Passenger steamers upon the lakes and rivers are of gigantic size, and models of elegance.

It is in the cities that the change from colonial conditions is greatest. Most of these—indeed all, excepting those upon the Atlantic coast—have been in great measure the result of design instead of being allowed, like Topsy, to "just grow." In these modern days cities are laid out under definite, far-seeing plans; consequently the modern city presents symmetry of form unknown in mediæval ages. The difference is seen by contrasting the crooked cowpaths of old Boston with the symmetrical,

broad streets of Washington or Denver. These are provided with parks at intervals for breathing spaces; amply supplied with pure water, in some cases at enormous expense; the most modern ideas are embodied in their sanitary arrangements; they are well lighted, well policed, and the fire departments are very efficient. In these modern cities an extensive fire is rare. The lessening danger of this risk is indicated by the steady fall in the rate of fire insurance.

The variety and quality of the food of the people of America excels that found elsewhere, and is a constant surprise to Europeans visiting the States. The Americans are the best-fed people on the globe. Their dress is now of the richest character—far beyond that of any other people, compared class for class. The comforts of the average American home compare favorably with those of other lands, while the residences of the wealthy classes are unequaled. The first-class American residence of to-day in all its appointments excites the envy of the foreigner. One touch of the electric button calls a messenger; two bring a telegraph boy; three summon a policeman; four give the alarm of fire. Telephones are used to an extent undreamt of in Europe, the stables and other out-buildings being connected with the mansion; and the houses of friends are joined by the talking-wire almost as often as houses of business. Speaking-tubes connect the drawing-room with the kitchen; and the dinner is brought up "piping hot" by a lift. Hot air and steam pipes are carried all over the house; and by the turning of a tap the temperature of any room is regulated to suit the convenience of the occupant. A passenger lift is common. The electric light is an addi-

tional home comfort. Indeed, there is no palace or great mansion in Europe with half the conveniences and scientific appliances which characterize the best American mansions. New York Central Park is no unworthy rival of Hyde Park and the Bois de Boulogne in its display of fine equipages; and in winter the hundreds of graceful sleighs dashing along the drives form a picture. The opera-houses, theatres, and public halls of the country excel in magnificence those of other lands, if we except the latter constructions in Paris and Vienna, with which the New York, Philadelphia and Chicago opera-houses rank. The commercial exchanges, and the imposing structures of the life insurance companies, newspaper buildings, hotels, and many edifices built by wealthy firms, not only in New York but in the cities of the West, never fail to excite the European's surprise. The postal system is equal in every respect to that of Europe. Mails are taken up by express trains, sorted on board, and dropped at all important points without stopping. Letters are delivered several times a day in every considerable town, and a ten-cent special delivery stamp insures delivery at once by special messenger in the large cities. The uniform rate of postage for all distances, often exceeding three thousand miles, is only two cents (one penny) per ounce.

In short, the conditions of life in American cities may be said to have approximated those of Europe during the sixty years of which we are speaking. Year by year, as the population advances, the general standard of comfort in the smaller Western cities rises to that of the East. Herbert Spencer was astonished beyond measure at what he saw in American cities. "Such books as I had looked

into," said he, "had given me no adequate idea of the immense developments of material civilization which I have found everywhere. The extent, wealth, and magnificence of your cities, and especially the splendors of New York, have altogether astonished me. Though I have not visited the wonder of the West, Chicago, yet some of your minor modern places, such as Cleveland, have sufficiently amazed me by the marvelous results of one generation's activity. Occasionally, when I have been in places of some ten thousand inhabitants, where the telephone is in general use, I have felt somewhat ashamed of our own unenterprising towns, many of which, of fifty thousand inhabitants and more, make no use of it."

There is little difference between the municipal institutions of the new and the old lands in the matter of political organization, but in administration the old land has undoubtedly the advantage. This arises from several causes, the chief being that the population is more settled; families live for generations in the same town and become identified with it; there is great civic pride. Besides, there is an educated leisure class ambitious for civic place and reputation.

In towns manhood suffrage prevails, and in many if not all cases women possessed of property are also entitled to vote. The result is a degree of attention to municipal affairs upon the part of the best citizens of the towns which is rarely found even in America beyond the borders of the old settled States, if at all. The proceedings of the town council, including the speeches of every member, are regularly published at length in the local newspapers. Sometimes as much as four columns are

occupied by the report of this local parliament, and no reading is so much enjoyed, or excites a deeper interest in the community. It is true, one outside of the boundaries smiles to read of able men, the local manufacturers and merchants of the place, disputing the correctness of a charge of five pounds six and eight pence for repairing the town-house clock, or an increase of ten pounds in the salary of the town clerk; but the Imperial Parliament itself is not seldom engaged upon trifling matters, and it is this attention to details which insures a proper disposition of the public funds, and an excellent government of the municipality.

The magistrates and town councillors are held in the highest honor, and one hears of Provost Wall's or Provost Donald's premiership, and of local improvements being characterized as during this or that "administration." The resident of the town hears the names of prominent public men, but these are mere abstractions to him, and furnish no material basis for admiration; but when the provost passes he sees in him concentrated glory, the pride of power, the "real presence" as it were.

From the town councils the nation is drawing some of its foremost leaders. Mr. Chamberlain and Alderman Kenrick began their education in that of Birmingham; Mr. Storey in that of Sunderland, and the late George Harrison in Edinburgh. My experience of the town community in Britain gives me the highest possible estimate of the power of the masses to produce beneficial changes through the selection of men best qualified for the work.

For the reasons stated the time has not yet arrived for obtaining as complete and effective municipal institutions throughout the Republic as those of Britain, but we see

in the more settled parts that we are beginning to approach similar results.

The old land has paid the new the sincere flattery of imitation, having made the first step toward giving the rural districts self-government through county councils, which, however, are as yet only endowed with restricted powers.

A short description of the republican rural organizations will probably be interesting to the British people, and even to the American, who is too apt to enjoy his blessings without paying much attention to their sources. The subdivision of States into counties, and of counties into townships for purposes of local self-government, has not been made upon a uniform plan; the earlier States present many points of difference in these divisions, but the newer States of the West and Northwest, which combine by far the greater area of the country, may be said to follow the same general mode. It is that alone which it is worth while to describe, since it is the recent and distinctively American practice.

Iowa is one of the most creditable communities in the Union, and we shall take a look into her local governments. The genesis of these home parliaments is very simple. First comes a settler, axe in hand, who erects a log-cabin, clears the ground, and plants whatever seeds he may be blessed with. Then comes another and another, who do the same upon adjoining land, until a dozen or more families are near together. Two wants are now felt—roads or paths between these houses and from the hamlet to the nearest market town or railway station, and a school for the children. There is no central authority to provide these, and finally the hardy settlers resolve to have a meeting and talk matters over. They vote to tax

themselves and construct both roads and school. Somebody must be designated to assess the tax, somebody to collect it, some one to supervise the work, and some one to keep the accounts, etc. Here are the beginnings of the tax assessor, collector, county supervisor, and town clerk, and after a while to these are added the constable and the justice of the peace.

Many a township record begins like that of Burlington, in Calhoun County, Michigan:

"Organized in 1837, and held its first township meeting April 3 of that year, electing Justus Goodwin, supervisor; Q. C. Freeman, town clerk; Justus Goodwin, Gibesia Sanders, and Moses S. Gleason, justices of the peace; Leon Haughtailing, constable and collector; established six road districts; voted $100 to build a bridge across the St. Joseph River, and $50 for bridging Nottawa Creek; voted $50 for common schools, and $5 bounty for wolf scalps."

Ah, that $50 for common schools! That was the vote of votes. Just see, wherever we peer into the first tiny springs of the national life, how this true panacea for all the ills of the body politic bubbles forth—education, education, education. Through all the history of the land runs this care for the golden thread of knowledge, upon which to string the blessings and achievements of an educated, triumphant democracy.

And will you note also that no mention is made of the "birth" or "rank" of these village Hampdens? It may safely be inferred that neither was thought of in that democratic meeting. The fittest and best man was what the occasion demanded, and no doubt wise choice was made upon the only sensible basis:

"The tools to those who can best use them."

The township is, as a rule, six miles square, as all the territories are divided into such areas by the government surveyors. As population increases, twelve to fifteen townships band together and form the greater political division, the county, the larger Home Rule circle.

The county officials are usually elected for terms of two years, although in many States annual elections are held. Suffrage is invariably universal, and electoral districts equal. All officials are paid, but their salaries are extremely moderate. The county town is selected, of course, in democratic fashion by a fair vote. By vote of the people are elected at short intervals not only all county political officials, including the sheriffs and other magistrates having authority, and the county superintendent of education, the road supervisors, and guardians of the poor, but the judges themselves. And why not? Who are so deeply interested in the able and pure administration of justice as the masses of the people, the poorer classes of the people, who may be trusted to elect the men least likely to lean unduly to the side of the rich, the powerful, and the strong? If judges must have leanings —and being but human, they must be influenced, even unconsciously, by their environments—by all means let their failings lean to virtue's side, which is always, with very rare exceptions, the side of the poor and the weak.

Many counties at last form the third and largest circle of Home Rule, the State, which in turn with other States constitute the Federal system of the Republic. These are little centres within centres of Home Rule, and the experience gained of their healthfulness in matters political is such as to bring about the general rule that the central

authority shall do nothing which the State can do for itself, the State nothing which the county can do for itself, and the county nothing for the township which it can do for itself. As sure as the sun shines, in proportion as government recedes from the people immediately interested, it becomes liable to abuse. Whatever authority can be conveniently exercised in primary assemblies should, therefore, be placed there, for there it is certain to produce satisfactory results.

Jefferson was indeed a far-seeing statesman, and he says:

"These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments; and have proved themselves the wisest inventions ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation."

The American believes in Home Rule down to the smallest divisions, and has shown an admirable dislike of centralization. He will not call upon any authority to help him as long as he can help himself. Divide society into as many and as small divisions as you please, the smallest still remains a complete epitome—a microcosm of the whole. The council of a city is a perfect miniature of the imperial assembly. The observer recognizes its pocket editions of Cleveland, Harrison, Gladstone, Morley, Blaine, and Salisbury; in the life of the city there stand the local Brooks, Beecher and Spurgeon, the Spencer, Fiske, Huxley, Marsh, the Drs. Flint, Dennis, Mackenzie, the Black and the Howells. Yes, it has even its Arnold, Holmes, Lowell, Browning, and Whitman—all in miniature, no doubt, as befits the small stage upon which these tiny actors perform. Men and women divide into a few classes, and in every village these classes exist, and the

smaller the body the more clearly defined the line between them in society, for there is "society" even in these villages, and leaders of fashion, too—all the absurd things as well as the good things are present, not one missing; for as each grain composing the block of marble has within itself all that makes marble marble, so each gathering of men and women, no matter how small, has all that makes empires empires. Statesmen have but to allow free play to these forces to produce harmonious action. The American always does this in town and country. The Briton has pursued a different course, except in the towns, and the effect of exclusion from the management of their local affairs, upon the character of the masses throughout the country districts, has been deplorable. They are not yet men; they are in spirit only serfs. But as the right to vote for members of Parliament was granted them some years ago, and county councils have been established, each will soon have Home Rule within its own small district, and this must produce a decided improvement in the rural community.

The truest account we have found of the condition of the masses of the American people who live in the villages and small towns, as distinguished from the large cities and from the country, is that concerning New England in Professor Fiske's excellent little book, "American Political Ideas." Dwellers in New England will certify of their own knowledge to its entire truthfulness:

"As a rule, the head of each family owns the house in which he lives, and the ground on which it is built. The relation of landlord and tenant, though not unknown, is not commonly met with. No sort of social distinction or political privilege is associated with the ownership of land, and the legal differences between real and

personal property, especially as regards ease of transfer, have been reduced to the smallest minimum that practical convenience will allow. Each householder, therefore, though an absolute proprietor, cannot be called a miniature lord of the manor, because there exists no permanent dependent class such as is implied in the use of such a phrase. Each larger proprietor attends in person to the cultivation of his own land, assisted perhaps by his own sons, or by neighbors working for hire in the leisure left over from the care of their own smaller estates. So, in the interior of the house, there is usually no domestic service that is not performed by the mother of the family and the daughters. Yet, in spite of this universality of manual labor, the people are as far as possible from presenting the appearance of peasants. Poor or shabbily-dressed people are rarely seen, and there is no one in the village whom it would be proper to address in a patronizing tone, or who would not consider it a gross insult to be offered a shilling. As with poverty, so with dram-drinking and with crime; all alike are conspicuous by their absence. In a village of one thousand inhabitants there will be a poor-house, where five or six decrepit old people are supported at the common charge; and there will be one tavern, where it is not easy to find anything stronger to drink than light beer or cider. The danger from thieves is so slight that it is not always thought necessary to fasten the outer doors of the house at night. The universality of literary culture is as remarkable as the freedom with which all persons engage in manual labor. The village of a thousand inhabitants will be very likely to have a public circulating library, in which you may find Professor Huxley's "Lay Sermons," or Sir Henry Maine's "Ancient Law;" it will surely have a high-school, and half a dozen other schools for small children. A person unable to read and write is as great a rarity as an albino, or a person with six fingers. The farmer who threshes his own corn and cuts his own firewood has very likely a piano in his family sitting-room, with the *Atlantic Monthly* on the table, and Milton and Tennyson, Gibbon and Macaulay, on his shelves; while his daughter, who has baked bread in the morning, is, perhaps, ready to paint on china in the afternoon. In former times theological questions largely occupied the attention of the people; and there is probably no part of the world

where the Bible has been more attentively read, or where the mysteries of Christian doctrine have, to so great an extent, been made the subject of earnest discussion in every household. Hence, we find in the New England of to-day a deep religious sense, combined with singular flexibility of mind and freedom of thought."

Such is the Democracy; such its conditions of life. In the presence of such a picture can it be maintained that the rule of the people is subversive of government and religion? Where have monarchical institutions developed a community so delightful in itself, so intelligent, so free from crime or pauperism — a community in which the greatest good of the greatest number is so fully attained, and one so well calculated to foster the growth of self-respecting men—which is the end civilization seeks?

"For ere man made us citizens
God made us men."

The republican is necessarily self-respecting, for the laws of his country begin by making him a man indeed, the equal of other men. The man who most respects himself will always be found the man who most respects the rights and feelings of others.

The rural democracy of America could be as soon induced to sanction the confiscation of the property of its richer neighbors, or to vote for any violent or discreditable measure, as it could be led to surrender the President for a king. Equal laws and privileges develop all the best and noblest characteristics, and these always lead in the direction of the Golden Rule. These honest, pure, contented, industrious, patriotic people really do consider what they would have others do to them. They ask themselves what is fair and right. Nor is there else-

where in the world so conservative a body of men; but then it is the equality of the citizen—just and equal laws —republicanism, they are resolved to conserve. To conserve these they are at all times ready to fight and, if need be, to die; for, to men who have once tasted the elixir of political equality, life under unequal conditions could possess no charm.

To every man is committed in some degree, as a sacred trust, the manhood of man. This he may not himself infringe or permit to be infringed by others. Hereditary dignities, political inequalities, do infringe the right of man, and hence are not to be tolerated. The true democrat must live the peer of his fellows, or die struggling to become so.

The American citizen has no further need to struggle, being in possession of equality under the laws in every particular. He has not travelled far in the path of genuine Democracy who would not scorn to enjoy a privilege which was not the common birthright of all his fellows.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONS

"Happy is the man who has found his work."—CARLYLE.

"All nations have their message from on high,
Each the Messiah of some central thought
For the fulfilment and delight of Man:
One has to teach that labor is divine."
—LOWELL.

ONE has to teach that labor is divine; and this is the mission of the Republic among the nations. No other community illustrates to so great a degree the words of the Psalmist, "Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labor until the evening."

There is still little realized wealth and only a trace of a leisure class. The climate stimulates to exertion. The opinion is very generally held that every citizen owes the Republic a life of usefulness. Carlyle says: "Happy is the man who has found his work." Very few Americans, indeed, are permitted to trace their unhappiness, if unhappiness there be, to a failure in this direction. Every man appears to have found his work and to be doing it with a will. The American likes work. He has not yet learned to play the idler gracefully. Even when old age appears he seems to find it more difficult than the man of any other race to retire from active and engrossing pursuits. Macbeth's resolve seems to be his:

"Come wind, come rack,
At least I'll die with harness on my back."

During the colonial period the industries of America were cramped and repressed by the illiberal policy of the imperial government. The occupations of the people were necessarily confined to those connected with the cultivation of the soil. The varied pursuits which now distinguish the Republic were unknown. "The colonies have no right to manufacture even so much as a horse-shoe nail," was the dictum of a leading English statesman; and in accordance with this doctrine, the early settlers were hampered by restrictions which, but for their injurious effect on American industries, would appear ludicrous to us of modern times. The manufacture of hats was forbidden; the making of paper gave offence; and even the weaving of homespun cloth for domestic use was regarded as indicating a rebellious spirit. Iron could not be manufactured beyond the condition of pig; and none but British vessels were permitted to trade with the colonies.

But do not let us reflect upon the motherland for this, for we must not overlook the fact that, even in pursuing this policy, she was not behind her day. What were colonies for, unless to be of direct advantage to the country which created and fostered them? Why should Britain undertake new outlets for her people and her commerce, if her children were to prove ungrateful and defeat the only end the parent land had in view in nursing them into life? Such was the accepted view of the times in regard to colonial possessions. It is to the credit of Britain that she now sees how futile is the attempt to extend commerce through colonization, or to interfere with the internal affairs of her children. She now permits them to foster what they please, to trade freely

ations upon any terms the colonies fix fo
with them. "Trade follows the flag," wa
The fact has been clearly made manifest
delusion. Trade does not a care a fig fo
follows the lowest price current. True, it
er offspring are not very grateful children;
nst their mother with surprising harsh
ancial aid is desired, our Canadian and
friends, for instance, flatter the dear old
ing her purse-strings, to give these sp
what they beg. They are very dutiful upon
but tax their mother's products all the
manufactures upon their own soil; and
e position of members of a firm making
heir partners—daughters turned against

of anything great has a colony ever produced, or what man has grown up in any colony who has become known beyond his own locality? Nor can a colony ever give to mankind anything of value beyond wood, corn, and beef. If Canada and the Australian colonies were free and independent republics, the world would soon see the harvest of democracy in noble works, and in great minds, and for the mother of these nations the result would be infinitely better, even as to trade. Besides, she would be far prouder of her progeny, which in itself is not a bad return for a fond mother like her.

If Lord Rosebery were to succeed in his amusing Imperial Federation fad (which, happily, is impossible), these nations in embryo would be stifled. Imagine the great democratic continent of Australia really subject to the little island, and to the funny monarchy and its antiquated forms. We have heard before of the tail wagging the dog, but it must have been a very big tail and a very small dog. Britain will form a very diminutive tail to the Australia of the next generation. It seems clear that the English-speaking continents of America and Australia, and the parent, Britain, will be equal political communities, but one day linked in a league of peace. Probably a race alliance of all English-speaking people may precede "the Parliament of Man."

With the independence of the Republic came the natural reaction from the suppression of occupations just spoken of. The reaction has not quite spent its force, even to this day, so hard it is to eradicate national bitterness which springs from oppression. With surprising energy the people began to turn their condition of colonial dependence into a condition of national independ-

ence, industrial as well as political. The long European wars which followed fostered the young industries of the Republic by hindering the importation of European manufactures, a result further assisted by a tariff; and, though disaster followed this system of over-stimulation, the eventual condition reached was eminently satisfactory. By the year 1830 many industries were firmly established, and since that period their development has steadily proceeded. These were greatly stimulated by the Civil War, which threw the country upon its own resources. Fortunately for her, these were in a condition to respond in a manner which surprised other nations. That portion of the home market then secured for the first time by home manufactures has been steadily enlarging.

The settlement of a country usually follows a natural order or sequence. The first settlers, finding land abundant and cheap, engage in pastoral pursuits, pasturing their herds over broad tracts of land. As settlement increases, there succeeds a conflict between herdsmen and farmers, which the latter inevitably win, and the community becomes agricultural; the herdsman removes with his flocks to the frontier. In this, the agricultural stage, the vast body of the population is widely distributed over the country; towns and villages are small and of trifling importance. As settlement increases, little by little trade and commerce, then manufactures, grow in importance, and towns and cities multiply. The last stage which the world has yet seen is that in which the greater proportion of the population has become massed in towns and cities, engaged in manufactures and trade, agriculture occupying a secondary position.

Certain parts of the Republic have passed through

these changes, while others present various stages of progress in this succession. The northeastern part has become very largely a manufacturing section. The States of the upper Mississippi and the Ohio valleys are now transferring their allegiance from King Agriculture to King Manufacture. The Southern States as a whole are still firm in their adherence to King Cotton, although several States are going rapidly into manufacturing. The States and Territories of the far West are either still in the pastoral, or are passing from that to the agricultural, stage.

The occupations of the people have therefore greatly changed in the past century with the changes in industries. The introduction of machinery has greatly affected their occupations. A century, nay, half a century ago, those engaged in manufactures were skilled mechanics. Each man had his trade. The man who made shoes was a shoemaker. The man who worked in iron was a blacksmith. There were wheelwrights, watchmakers, cabinetmakers, upholsterers, and so on through a long list of well-defined trades. These trades to-day are almost obliterated. In the place of manual skill we have machines which do almost everything but think. Shoes, clothing, furniture, articles of iron and steel and other metals are made by machines, and in the place of the skilled workman there is a machine tender whose duty is simply to watch the machine and see that it does its work properly.

The same man may be able, without long special training, to manage any one of a dozen different kinds of machines, and thus successively superintend anything from the making of a suit of clothes to a bicycle, or from a watch to a locomotive.

Great specialization has taken place. The vast majority of men engaged in mechanical pursuits are no longer skilled mechanics in the old sense. They are now skilled in attending machines, or in performing one special part of a process. Thus, in watchmaking, for instance, in the Waltham factory 1,519 operations are necessary to complete a watch; 686 operatives work, and 503 machines are used on each watch. The change from the old hand work to the present machine-made watch was made in 1854. There are 2,954 names upon the pay-roll, divided as follows: Tool makers, 165; machine tenders, 1,983; assemblers, 532; office help, 100; sweepers, watchmen, and pipers, 47; carpenters, painters, and masons, 21; the remainder superintendents, foremen, and assistants.

All this is not to the disadvantage of the workman. Although skill in all branches of his craft is no longer in demand, his earnings are higher than ever before, and his hours of labor fewer; and although one machine doing the work of a hundred men requires but one man to manage it, the other ninety-nine are not thrown out of employment. The cheapening of the product, nearly all of which goes to the consumer, increases the demand to such an extent that the hundred men are still employed in producing while the entire community lives better at less expense.

This brings us to another very important point, viz.: that, by the aid of machinery, we are vastly more effective than a century, or even a generation, ago. It is no exaggeration to say that each man produces, with the aid of machines, from ten to one hundred times as much as he could a century ago—a striking proof of the value of science to every-day life. The human brain

has evolved these machines, which make every man worth a hundred men of old in productive capacity. It measures, also, the relative value of brain work as compared with manual labor—of brain *versus* muscle.

The occupations of the people of half a century ago appear strangely primitive when contrasted with those of present times. Indeed, the difference is more like that of five centuries than of five decades. Take as an example the shoe manufacture at Lynn, Massachusetts. Sixty years ago a visitor to this village would have heard the beat of many hammers issuing from small wooden sheds erected against the sides of the houses. These were the sounds of the disciples of St. Crispin working away, with last upon knee, and making perhaps one pair of shoes per day. During the summer the same men became farmers or fishermen, and the village ceased to resound with the shoemakers' hammers. The present city of Lynn, with fifty-five thousand inhabitants, has numerous fine buildings of great height and length, which are the lineal descendants of the little wooden sheds of fifty years ago. In these, boots and shoes are made by the million, and with hardly any handling by the sons of St. Crispin. Machines now do all the cutting, the hammering, and the sewing. Massachusetts is the shoe State *par excellence*. According to Mulhall, in 1835 there were in the State thirty thousand more bootmakers than in 1880, yet in the latter year the factories produced more than they did in 1835. Thus the boot and shoe machinery more than equalled the labor of an army of thirty thousand men.

Changes equally great took place in the nature of work in textile industries. In 1830, woollen, linen, and

cotton manufactures were largely conducted in the household. In Hinton's "Topography of the United States" we read that "many thousands of families spin, and make up their own clothing, sheets, table-linen, etc. They purchase cotton yarn, and have it frequently mixed with their linen and woollen; blankets, quilts, or coverlets, in short, nearly all articles of domestic use, are chiefly made in the family. It is supposed that two-thirds of all the clothing, linen, blankets, etc., of those inhabitants who reside in the interior of the country are of household manufacture. It is the same in the interior with both soap and candles." But many forces were at work revolutionizing the industrial methods of the day. The steam-engine was gradually replacing the water-wheel, or supplementing it when winter bound fast the rivers, thereby insuring to employees regularity of work in factories, and releasing manufacturers from the incubus of idle capital during half the year. Railroads and canals were rapidly increasing the facilities for distributing the products of manufacturing centres. Great improvements in machinery placed manual labor more and more at a discount. Thus, in 1834, a spindle would spin on an average from one-sixth to one-third more than it did a few years previous. Indeed, it was said, in 1834, "that a person could spin more than double the weight of yarn in a given time than he could in 1829." And so there resulted a complete change in the manner of life of the people. Instead of working with the old-fashioned spinning-wheel in country farm-houses, or the hand-loom in the rural cottage, spinners and weavers gathered together in large towns. And here we have one cause of the great growth of towns as compared with

the country, which has been referred to in a previous chapter.

A large proportion of the people sixty years ago were engaged in agriculture, another pursuit in which mechanical appliances have since worked a complete revolution. The transformation is shown with startling vividness by two extracts:

"Among new inventions to increase the pauperism of England, we observe a portable steam threshing-machine."—*New York Evening Star*, August, 1834.

"Dr. Glin, of California, has forty-five thousand acres under wheat. On this farm is used an improved kind of machinery; each machine can cut, thresh, winnow, and bag sixty acres of wheat in a day."—*Mulhall's Progress of the World*, p. 499 (date, 1880).

In view of such a contrast we hardly need the assurance of Mr. H. Murray, who, writing in 1834, says: "Agriculture is in its infancy in the United States." The statement which follows is also interesting: "The country," he adds, "is covered with dense dark woods. Even the State of New York is still three-fourths forest." Since that period the expansion of agriculture has been phenomenal. The farms of America equal the entire territory of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Portugal. The corn fields equal the extent of England, Scotland, and Belgium; while the grain fields generally would overlap Spain. The cotton fields cover an area larger than Holland, and twice as large as Belgium. The rice fields, sugar, and tobacco plantations would also form kingdoms of no insignificant size. And such is the state of advancement reached by American agriculturists, that Mulhall estimates that one farmer like Dr. Glin or Mr. Dalrymple, with a field of

wheat covering a hundred square miles, can raise as much grain with four hundred farm servants as five thousand peasant proprietors in France.

Notwithstanding this, it is pleasing to know that not even with the advantage here implied are these gigantic farms able to maintain the struggle against the smaller farms owned and cultivated by families. The average size of farms continues to decrease. It is the same in Old England; during this period of agricultural depression it is found that the large farmers fail, and that those who till small areas by the labor of the family, without having to employ other labor, are better able to withstand low prices for products.

The Republic to-day is, as it ever was, a nation of workers. The idlers are few—much fewer than in any other great nation. A continent lies before the American, awaiting development. The rewards of labor are high; and prizes are to be won in every pursuit. The family which strikes out boldly for the West, settles upon the soil, and expends its labor upon it, may confidently look forward to reach independent circumstances long before old age. The mechanic with skill and energy rises first to foremanship and ultimately to a partnership or business of his own. As the country fills, these prizes naturally become more and more difficult to secure; but the very knowledge of this acts as an additional incentive, and impels men to "make hay while the sun shines."

The American works much harder than the Briton. His application is greater; his hours are longer; his holidays fewer. Until recently, a leisure class has scarcely been known; and even now a man who is not engaged in some useful occupation lacks one claim to the

respect of his fellows. The American must do something. Even if disposed to be idle, he is forced to join the army of toilers from sheer impossibility to find suitable companions for idle hours. One conversant with the mother and child lands is particularly struck with the difference between Britons and Americans in this regard. If a party of educated and agreeable gentlemen are wanted to join in a pleasure excursion, twenty are available in Britain to one in this high-pressure America. The American has always so much to do. Even when the family leaves home in the summer, the man returns to town every few days to hammer away at something. The English gentleman, on the contrary, seems always to have a few days he can call his own for pleasure. Ladies are equally available upon both sides of the ferry. The American woman seems to have quite as much leisure as her English sister. We must not fail to note, however, the signs of change which begin to appear. A small number of the best men of this generation, especially in the Eastern cities, having inherited fortunes, now devote themselves to public work, not necessarily political, as a Briton would infer, and discard the lower ambition of adding more to that which is enough. The roughest and most pressing work, that of clearing and settling the land, has been done to a great extent; and the evidences of refinement and elevation are now patent everywhere. It is thus that a free society evolves that which is fitted for its highest ends.

The census of 1890 shows that about twenty-four and one-half millions of the inhabitants are wage earners, or more than one-third of the total population. The proportion shows a slight increase over previous census reports, which is probably the joint result of several causes acting

together. One is the increased employment of women; another, the increased proportion of the foreign element, due to the extraordinary increase in immigration. A large proportion of immigrants being males of mature age, consequently the proportion of wage earners among immigrants is great.

Grouping the wage earners of the country by age, it appears that only six per cent. of all the wage earners are under fifteen years of age; or, putting it in another form, only about five per cent. of the children between ten and fifteen years of age are wage earners.

Among native-born inhabitants the colored people are engaged in farming in overwhelming proportions, and farm labor is not confined to the males of the family, but women and children also take part in it. In such States as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi, almost as many colored women as colored men are reported as engaged in farming. Of course, their labor is confined in the main to the lighter work, such as cotton picking.

The professions are filled mainly by whites of native birth. Very few of the colored element have attained to this class, while the foreign-born inhabitants, which form about one-sixth of the total population, furnish but one-ninth of this professional class. On the other hand, the class of domestic service is recruited mainly from the foreign element and the colored race. About one-third of the domestic servants of the United States are whites of native birth. The other two-thirds are divided almost equally between the colored and persons of foreign birth.

The same proportions hold approximately for ordinary laborers.

Operatives in mills and works, such as cotton, silk, and

The following table shows the number of persons (ten years old and upward) pursuing gainful occupations in 1890.

Class.	Total.	Natives of United States.	Natives of Great Britain and Ireland.	Natives of Germany.	Natives of Scandinavia.	Natives of British America.	Natives of All Other.
Agricultural (all classes) .	10,700,000	9,587,200	321,000	428,000	149,800	107,000	107,000
Manufactures, Mechanical and Mining . . .	6,000,000	4,080,000	798,000	600,000	72,000	240,000	210,000
Professional Services .	4,800,000	3,648,000	585,600	259,200	62,400	96,000	148,800
Trade and Transportation	2,900,000	2,180,800	313,200	246,500	29,000	43,500	87,000
Total	24,400,000	19,496,000	2,017,800	1,533,700	313,200	486,500	552,800

Male, 85.7 per cent. Female, 14.3 per cent.

woollen mills, are about half of foreign birth. Among this class very few of the colored race are found.

Less than a third of the people born in the United States are wage earners; of those born in Britain and Germany more than one-half, of those born in Scandinavia nearly one-half, and of those born in Canada much more than one-half, are wage earners. One reason for this high proportion among persons of foreign birth is that a much larger number of the women are engaged in wage earning. Our New England factories are filled with French-Canadian girls. Domestic service in the Eastern States is very largely supplied from Ireland, while in the Northwest the same service is rendered to the same extent by German and Scandinavian girls, and they are not infrequently found working in the fields.

Now, let us see what classes of avocations are affected by persons of these different nationalities.

The human bees in the American hive work in four grand divisions. First, more than ten millions are detailed to tickle Mother Earth with the hoe, that she may smile with a harvest, and to tend the herds and flocks—the cattle upon a thousand hills and the sheep in the dewy fields, through which wander the complaining brooks, making the meadows green. A pleasant, healthful life is this, redolent of nature's sweetest odors, full of the rest and quiet of peaceful, primitive days. These toilers grow the roses of life, and are to be much envied; and if the farmer's life in America is a life of toil, it is none the worse for that. It is the idle man who is to be pitied. The farmer is the man rejoicing,

"Who holds his plough in joy."

Next to these envied out-of-door workers comes the second division—the manufacturers, miners and those engaged in mechanical pursuits, six million strong—about six-tenths as many as the devotees of Ceres, these hardy sons of Vulcan. Every form of inventive genius or of mechanical skill finds fitting occupation in this army. Variety of pursuit is of vital consequence to a nation, and we find it here. Pent up in mills and factories from morning to night, begrimed with smoke and dirt, amid the ceaseless roar of machinery, these cunning toilers fashion the things conceived by the mind of man—from pins to anchors. In this class are embraced those who literally live in the bowels of the earth, who down deep in unfathomable mines rob the earth of her hidden treasures, and drag them forth for the uses of man. It is notable that while in agriculture only seven per cent. of the division are females, in this branch the ratio is no less than sixteen per cent. Women do much of the lighter manufacturing work in America, nine hundred and sixty thousand being so employed. This division excites our sympathy; their work is the least pleasing of all. Shut out from the sky, and closed in mine or factory, they seem banished from nature's presence. This is the class of whom we should think most in our Sunday regulations. On that one day, for the after part of it, let it be through nature that they look up to nature's God. To shut up within walls on the seventh day, all the day long, the prisoners who have been incarcerated all the six, would be cruel. Is there no reformer who will act upon the assertion that the groves were God's first temples, and take the toilers there in their only day of liberty? The annual camp-meeting in the wood is fast dying out, yet

it had its advantages. Poor men and women got a glimpse of nature there.

The service division, which comes next, reaches nearly five millions. The professions—the minister, the doctor, the lawyer, the author, etc., are all embraced; fortunately, the "noble" profession of arms (that means the butchering of men) need not be counted in the Republic. The domestic servants are in themselves a host; the Irish take to this branch much more generally than any other race. Of course, the percentage of females is here far greater than in any other of the main divisions, one million five hundred and eighty-four thousand domestic Amazons being enrolled, or one-third of the whole.

The fourth and last industrial corps is that conducting trade and transportation, numbering two million nine hundred thousand, eighty-seven thousand of whom are females. These, combined, constitute the twenty-four million four hundred thousand working bees who make the honey of the national hive, in which there is little room for those who "toil not, neither do they spin." In that hive the drones are not stung to death at intervals; they are not suffered to come to life. If a specimen happens to escape the massacre, and walks about doing no useful work to justify his existence, the public regard him much as the countryman did the "dude" (masher) whom he saw for the first time promenading Broadway: "Lor', what lots of queer game one sees when he leaves home without his gun!" There is an inherited suspicion in the republican breast that the only thing good for the useless, idle, fox-hunting, pleasure-loving man, as well as for the State, if not to shoot him, is at least to laugh at him. When the fair young

American asked the latest lordling who did her country the honor to visit it, how the aristocratic leisure classes spent their time, he replied: "Oh, they go about from one house to another, don't you know, and enjoy themselves, you know. They never do any work, you know." "Oh," she replied, "we have such people, too; we call them tramps." The latest Briton who visited these shores, a noted man "in trade," who would not be received at court, said to a lady: "It seems positively dreadful, don't yer know, to be governed by a set of people whom you wouldn't know, don't yer know." Her prompt inquiry was: "Ah!—and how does it feel to be governed, don't yer know, by a set of people who wouldn't know you, don't yer know?" This still troubles the hitherto loyal Briton.

The following table shows the percentage of the total number of wage earners of each of the five great nationalities which are engaged in each of these four great classes of occupations:

DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AMONG THE GRAND GROUPS OF OCCUPATIONS.

PLACES OF BIRTH.	Agriculture.	Manufacturing.	Personal and Professional Service.	Trade and Transportation.
United States,	49	21	19	11
United Kingdom,	16	40	29	15
Germany,	28	39	17	16
Scandinavia,	48	23	20	9
Canada,	22	49	20	9

It is thus seen that of the native-born inhabitants of the country one-half are engaged in agriculture, and but twenty-one per cent. in manufactures. Of the nineteen

per cent. engaged in personal and professional services, it includes a rather incongruous mixture of professions, of domestic services, and everything of a personal nature. Between these two extremes, a detailed inspection of the table shows that the great majority of this number are in its higher walks; that is, in the professions.

Contrasted with the above, of natives of the United Kingdom, only sixteen per cent., or about one-sixth, are engaged in agriculture, and forty per cent. in mechanical pursuits. Twenty-nine per cent. are engaged in personal and professional services, which consist mainly in domestic services; and fifteen per cent. in trade and transportation.

The Germans come between the last two nationalities; twenty-eight per cent., or more than a quarter, being engaged in agriculture; and thirty-nine per cent., nearly the same proportion as among the Britons, being engaged in mechanical pursuits; seventeen per cent. of the number engaged in personal services, probably in the main domestic services, and sixteen per cent. in trade and transportation.

The Scandinavians, which include the natives from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, resemble the native-born citizens in their choice of occupations. Forty-eight per cent. are engaged in farming, only twenty-three per cent. in mechanical pursuits, twenty in personal services, and but nine in trade and transportation.

Of the Canadians, nine-tenths of whom, at least, are of French extraction, there are twenty-two per cent. found to be engaged in farming, while forty-nine per cent. have chosen mechanical pursuits. This large proportion is doubtless in the main made up of factory

hands in New England. About one-fifth of these have engaged in personal services, and a small proportion, but nine per cent., in trade and transportation.

In brief, it appears that the immigrant element, taken as a whole, is much less disposed to adopt agricultural avocations than the native element, but much more inclined to mechanical pursuits. This preference is explained not by any peculiarity in the nations which have supplied these immigrants, but by the fact that most of the immigration comes from the great cities, where the immigrants were engaged in mechanical occupations, rather than from the country districts. Another reason which may have some effect in influencing them is the fact that a large number, upon landing, find work in our cities and remain there.

However this may be, the fact remains, that in proportion to numbers the Briton and the German are very prominent in our manufacturing industries. They not only do a large share of the work, but have contributed at least their share of the inventions which have so greatly increased our productive capacity. This is corroborated by the horseshoe machines of Mr. Burden, a sturdy Scot; Mr. Thomas, a Welshman, who first smelted pig-iron with anthracite coal; Mr. Chisholm, of Dunfermline, Scotland, who created the extensive steel-rail and steel-wire mills at Cleveland; Isaac Steed, an enterprising Englishman, who first wove tapestry in Philadelphia; Mr. Wallace, founder of the famous brass mill at Ansonia, and many others. It is, indeed, quite interesting to note how great a proportion of the manufacturing of America is controlled by the foreign-born British and German. Forty-nine per cent. of all Scotch and English

in the United States are engaged in manufactures—a ratio much higher than that shown by any other nationality. Forty-three per cent. of the Irish-born are engaged in personal and professional services. So it can still be claimed that Britons do the manufacturing of the world, and we must credit to the British race not only the hitherto unequalled sum of products of their native land, but to a large extent the still greater sum of the Republic. Nineteen of every hundred native Americans engage in manufacturing occupations, against forty-nine per cent. of these islanders—just three times as many in proportion to numbers—a ratio which is probably substantially maintained in their progeny. We must not let the native claim all the credit for the manufacturing supremacy of his country. What would it have been but for the original stock? Democracy is entitled to all, for there is not in the land one who is not a stalwart republican. But, as between the native and imported democrat, the strain of British and German blood, never excelled, must be credited with more than its due share. We clearly see of what the Briton and German are capable when relieved from unequal laws which condemn men to inferiority at birth, but who are made the peers of any under republican institutions. Man is a thing of the spirit. The Westerner who weighed two hundred pounds when drowsy, and more than a ton when he was roused, is exactly like the man born under a king, and denied equality at birth, compared with himself when he is invested under the Republic with the mantle of sovereignty. The drowsy Briton becomes a force here.

The American workingman is steadier than his fellow in Britain—much more sober and possessed of higher

tastes. Among his amusements is found scarcely a trace of the ruder practices of British manufacturing districts, such as cock-fighting, badger-baiting, dog-fighting, prize-fighting. Wife-beating is scarcely ever heard of, and drunkenness is quite rare. The manufacturer in America considers it cause for instant dismissal, and is able to act, and does act, upon this theory, thereby ensuring a standard of sobriety throughout the works. During all my experience among workingmen I have rarely seen a native American workman under the influence of liquor, and I have never known of any serious inconvenience or loss of time in any works resulting from the intemperance of the men. Even on the Fourth of July the blast-furnaces are run with accustomed regularity, and if the "glorious Fourth" be passed successfully, all other temptations are naturally harmless. It is upon Independence Day, if upon any day in the calendar, that the laboring citizen feels impelled to give vent to his feelings in violent demonstrations of irrepressible joy.

The Irishman was formerly the common laborer in mills and mines, but he has long since risen in the scale and become the skilled workman, paid by the piece or ton. The Hungarian and Italian have taken his place at the foot of the ladder, and upon these the mining and manufacturing and railroad employer is now forced to depend for the lowest class of work performed by pick and shovel. The native American workman is the mechanic, foreman, and manager—expert, skilful, inventive, fair-minded, intelligent, sober, and law-abiding, the model workman and the model citizen. Such is the result of his training: a class of which any country would be proud, but which no other country can yet boast.

CHAPTER VI

WAGES AND COST OF LIVING

"Unless thrift be first established, the reformer of the poor pours his teachings into a sieve. All improvement must be built upon thrift."

"THE United States would be a perfect El Dorado for the workingman if it were not for the high cost of living." This remark is often heard abroad, especially in Britain.

A little reflection would convince all that the necessaries of life for the masses of the people must be cheaper in the United States than in Britain. First, food costs from sixty to seventy per cent. of the household expenditures. Now, all kinds of food (fish, perhaps, excepted) are cheaper in the New World than in the Old. We export food to Europe because it is cheaper here than there. Not only are flour and meats cheaper, but fruits and vegetables and canned fruits are very much cheaper. Tobacco, quite an item in the workingman's expenditure, is also much cheaper, the tax in Britain on manufactured tobacco being twice the entire cost of the article here. Again, nothing of food which the American consumes is taxed. Unlike the Briton, his tea and his coffee are free of duty. So is his sugar. The American enjoys what the Briton is now clamoring for—a free breakfast table.

Taxation per head is as 9.3 per cent. in Britain to 5.4

here, but the workingman there pays three times the taxes of his fellow in the United States, owing to the fact that Britain taxes beer, spirits, and tobacco enormously, and also the tea and coffee which the workman consumes.

Coal is much dearer in Britain than in the United States. As a rule, it is more than double the cost at the pit mouth. Boots and shoes are also less expensive here than in Britain.

These various items are estimated to amount to nearly seventy-five per cent. of the necessary expenditures. Here, then, we have the United States workman advantaged in more than three-quarters of his total expenditure.

We come now to two items which remain, namely, clothing and rent. And first as to clothing. A prominent English statesman visited an American gentleman last year at his country house. The former had made a speech to his constituents in which he said that clothing in America cost more than three times what it did in England. My American friend had noted that, and took occasion one morning to ask him how he liked the suit of clothes he was wearing. The Englishman praised the clothes, and so did his wife, the latter saying they were more stylish than those of her husband. "How much do you think I paid for this suit?" asked the American. "Well, I think, in your country, about twelve pounds, sixty dollars." "I paid just four and a half dollars, eighteen shillings," the American gentleman said. This led to comparison of prices in the great shops of our cities for ready-made clothing that the workingman wears, and our English friend was astounded. He learned, what was true, that the millionnaire ordering a suit of imported goods from a fashionable tailor would pay about sixty

dollars for it; but he also learned that this had no bearing upon the question of clothing for the masses.

My friend had met a salesman in the village one morning, and seeing the extraordinary cheapness of his goods had ordered the suit in question sent to his house. It was made of American wool, which is not as soft as the Australian. It resembles more the harsh Scotch. Indeed it is a shade harder than that, and wealthy people in the United States like the softer material, and also insist upon very expensive silk linings and a great deal of extra work upon their clothes. The finish is far beyond anything found in European clothing; but serviceable all American wool suits are sold to workingmen in Boston, New York, and the principal cities for from eight to ten dollars. These are often advertised at much lower prices, but at the prices named good serviceable garments can be obtained anywhere. The statesman was asked to accept the suit, provided he would show it to his constituents upon his return, but this offer was respectfully declined.

In regard to cotton goods, we cannot do better than quote the words of a well-known free-trade writer, Jacob Schoenhof, who says in a consular report to the State Department:

"So far as clothing and dry goods in general are concerned, I find that cotton goods are fully as cheap in the United States as here. Shirtings and sheetings, if anything, are superior in quality for the same money with us, so far as I can judge from the articles exposed for sale in the retail stores. Articles for underwear for women, made of muslin, are far superior in workmanship and finish, and cheaper in price, in the United States. Nor can I find that men's shirts, when chiefly of cotton, are any cheaper here. Of boots and shoes, if factory made, the same may be said. In workmanship and finish I find corresponding articles of the wholesale process of

manufacture superior in the United States. This is true of clothing as well as of collars, cuffs, and like articles."

The above statement is undoubtedly correct. Much the same may be said of silk goods, the manufacture of which has so largely increased recently in this country, not only in variety but in quality. The workingman's wife can now purchase even her silk gown as cheaply in this country as she can in Britain. Furniture, of course, is much cheaper. We export it in large quantities to Europe. Carpets are likewise as cheap. All this may be very surprising to the foreign visitor, but he has only to inquire as he travels to learn that the facts are as here stated. Proof of this may be found in the recent report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, than which no higher authority exists. Its report is given below. It will be noticed that the cost of clothing is there given as the same in both countries.

REPORT OF MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

Income, $300 to $450 per year.			Income, $450 to $600 per year.		
ITEMS.	American.	English.	ITEMS.	American.	English.
Subsistence .	64	81	Subsistence .	63	78.75
Clothing . .	7	7	Clothing . .	10.50	10.50
Rent . . .	20	13	Rent . . .	15.50	10.37
Fuel . . .	6	6	Fuel . . .	6	6
Sundries . .	3	3	Sundries . .	5	5
Total . .	100	110	Total . .	100.00	110.62

We now come to one item about which there can be no dispute. The rent of the American workman is much

dearer than that of his fellow abroad. The Massachusetts Bureau here gives it as about one-half greater. From my experience I should say that there was even more than this difference. The explanation is that the American will not live in one or even two rooms. He demands three or four, as a rule. He earns more, and spends more upon his rent. Even for the same accommodation in this country he would have to pay something more than in Europe, but the difference would not be great. It will be noted that the statistics show that the cost of the same necessaries in Britain is ten per cent. greater than in the United States; subsistence costs so much more there than in the Republic, part of this being taxes upon food from which the American is free. The same authority gives the following, showing what the workingman can buy of the necessaries of life in the two countries for a dollar:

	Bread, loaves.	Flour, lbs.	Meats, lbs.	Potatoes, lbs.	Coffee, lbs.	Tea, lbs.	Sugar, lbs.	Kerosene, gals.	Soap, lbs.
United States . .	20	30	20	80	5	4	24	7½	30
England . . .	18	28	18	72	3½	2	16	4¼	12½

Whatever the case may have been many years ago, nothing is more capable of proof than that the Massachusetts labor statistics of to-day are substantially correct, and that the cost of living for the workingman is now in the United States about ten per cent. less than in England.

It must not be assumed, however, that the workman in America lives as cheaply as the Briton. Very far from it. He earns and spends more, and yet he saves

more. He lives better in every way—is better housed, better clothed, better fed; and only in the sense that he spends more is it true that the "cost of living" is greater in the United States than in Britain. It is less for similar living. It is high time that writers in the older lands should banish imaginary impressions based upon the past, and look at the facts of to-day, which prove the Republic to be indeed the El Dorado of the working-man.

The United States Labor Department has just issued some interesting figures showing the amount spent for food and rent at home and abroad. Here we have a table showing the average expenditure per family per annum for food and rent in the United States and European countries, of mechanics and laborers in iron and steel manufactories:

	Food.	Rent.
United States	$244	$75
Europe	223	42
England	225	50
France	199	30
Belgium	176	32
Germany	172	30
Poland	137	12

The difference is not great for food, but food costs less here than there, the increased expenditure being entirely due to the fact that the American workman lives better and uses a greater variety of food. Rent, relatively, is indeed higher, but, with wages about double, he can afford to pay a trifle more for this purpose. As a matter of fact, most of the extra pay the American workman receives goes to buy luxuries his kin beyond the sea know nothing

about. It enables him to live better, to send his children to school, and to lay up for a rainy day. In short, his high wages go to make him more independent, more of a man, and better qualified for citizenship of this great Republic. The cost of clothing, even if it did cost more here, is not such an important item, for only from seven to ten per cent. of a workingman's income goes for clothing. The European workman does not trouble much about clothing, because he purchases the coarsest and makes it last for years. To illustrate this, attention is invited to a valuable work entitled "Labor and Life of the People," edited by Charles Booth (not the Salvation Army Booth). In this work may be found the expenditures of an average English family, in four classes; namely, those earning $5 per week, those earning $5.75, those earning $6.50, and those earning $8. This covers nearly all classes of British workmen. In each case these comprise the actual expenditures for five weeks of a large number of each class of families. In the class earning $5 per week, sixty per cent. of the expenditures were for food, twenty per cent. for rent, and less than one per cent. for clothing. In the next class, about the same percentage went for food. and two per cent. for clothing; in the third class, five and a half per cent. for clothing; and in the fourth class, those earning $8 per week, about ten per cent. for clothing. The percentage expended for food drops from sixty per cent. in class one ($5 per week income) to a little over fifty per cent. in class four. The amounts expended for clothing, however, were insignificant—less than twenty-five cents in five weeks by those earning $5; 75 cents in five weeks by those earning $5.75; $2.50 by those earning $6.50, and $4.50 by those earning $8 per week;

the period in each case being five weeks. The fact is, the Continental workman only exists upon his wages, and does without articles which the American workman regards as necessaries of life.

We come now to a comparison of English and American wages, and here we are upon firm ground. The Senate of the United States recently appointed a committee to report upon this question, and their report has obtained the approval of the present Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, and also of the high Republican authority of United States Senator Aldrich. The table is here appended, which shows that the Briton receives fifty-six and one-half per cent. of the wages earned by the American—not very much more than one-half.

REPORT OF UNITED STATES SENATE COMMISSION—COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WAGES.

OCCUPATIONS.	Per	American Rate.	English Rate.	English Compared with American. (Percentage.)
Bakers . . .	Week.	$12.25	$7.25.9	59.26
Blacksmiths . .	Day.	2.10	1.60.4	76.38
Cabinet makers .	"	2.41.7	1.03.8	42.95
Carpenters . .	"	2.75	1.62.5	59.09
Laborers, Common .	"	1.71	.88.3	51.64
Machinists . .	"	2.71.4	1.50.8	55.56
Molders, Iron . .	"	2.65	1.65.2	62.34
Painters . . .	"	2.82.5	1.48.8	52.67
Plumbers . .	"	3.48.7	1.70	48.75
				508.64
Average . .	. .	. .	. .	56.52

In other branches, such as iron and steel and textile

fabrics, the Briton does not receive as high a percentage; [redacted]; about fifty per cent. is shown to be the earnings in the [redacted] great thread factories of Messrs. Coates and of Messrs. [redacted] Clark, both of these concerns having testified that labor [redacted] earns in this country slightly more than double its earn- [redacted] ings in Scotland. In iron and steel works the earnings [redacted] of American tonnage workmen are in many cases three [redacted] times as great. The price paid in Pittsburgh to-day for [redacted] puddling a ton of iron is three times the cost in Britain, namely, 7*s.* 6*d.* ($1.87) in the one, and 22 shillings ($5.50) in the other.

It is a curious fact that, notwithstanding the enormous immigration, the tendency in recent years has been to raise wages. The eleventh census, just taken; the reports of the New York, of the Massachusetts, and of the Indiana State Bureaus of Labor; and the valuable report of the United States Senate Committee, all show this. My free-trade friend, Hon. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, in a paper just published in the *Forum*, says on this point:

"One may ask, Is there such a very heavy competition in the labor market as has been claimed? If there were, the price of labor would have fallen during the last ten years, while this great army of workmen was coming in upon us; but the price of labor has advanced steadily. In 1880 wages were higher even than during the paper-money period, or the period of the excessive demands of the war. General wages were higher in 1890 than they were in 1880 by from ten to forty per cent., according to the grade of the workman."

Again he says:

"There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the prices of goods relatively to the wages so low as they are to-

day; nor a period when the workingman, in the strict sense of the word, has so fully secured to his own use and enjoyment such a steadily and progressively increasing proportion of a constantly increasing product. Hence, so far as our experience goes in dealing with the great flood of immigration which has poured in upon us in increasing measure during these twenty-five years, greater in the last ten years than ever before, all the facts and the conditions would tend to prove that we might invite its continuance, so far as it consists of the intelligent and the capable, who constitute by far the greatest portion, rather than impose taxes to keep the intelligent and capable from coming here to improve their condition. We now have specific and absolute data in respect to manufactures, the mechanic arts, and mining, going to prove that, through the application of science and invention in these specific directions, those who do the actual work in the sense in which the workman uses that phrase, in a lessening number of hours and with less arduous effort, secure constantly increasing wages, increased purchasing power, better food and more of it, more clothing, if not quite as good on account of the obstruction to the import of wool, and also, outside of a few congested districts in cities, better shelter at lessening cost to the occupant."

Thus from all sides, free trade, protectionist, republican, and democratic, comes positive proof of the fact that labor in the Republic is receiving more and more of the combined earnings of capital and labor. The United States presents a strange spectacle to the nations of the earth to-day. In all other lands labor is not fully employed. Throughout the length and breadth of the Republic it is fully employed. There is no man, able and willing to work, under the Stars and Stripes to-day, who cannot find work at wages which would seem to the wage earners of other lands to assure a small fortune for old age.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

"There being education, there will be no distinction of classes."
—CONFUCIUS.

"Education is the only interest worthy the deep, controlling anxiety of the thoughtful man."—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

"THE fair fabric of justice raised by Numa," says Plutarch, "passed rapidly away because it was not founded upon education." No truer reason can be given for the decay of everything good in a State. Upon no foundation but that of popular education can man erect the structure of an enduring civilization. This is the basis of all stability, and underlies all progress. Without it the State architect builds in vain.

Whether the sturdy Pilgrim Fathers were conversant with the conceptions of the Greek thinkers who were filled with projects for universal education, whether they were versed in the speculations of Plato's "Republic" or Aristotle's "Politics," is doubtful; but it is certain that they were imbued with the spirit which animated Luther and Knox in regard to the education of the masses. The true parent of modern education was the Reformation, for did not Luther himself say that if he were not a preacher he would be a teacher, as he thought the latter the more important office? John Knox demanded a public school

for every parish in Scotland; as the founder of the educational system of Scotland, John Knox is to rank as one of the greatest of benefactors. It was the Protestant State of Germany that first undertook the education of the whole people. Fortunate indeed for the world that the demand for religious freedom necessarily involved the priceless boon of secular education.

The preamble to the Massachusetts school law of 1642 tells the story:

"It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, so that all at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; and to the end that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors:

"It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children, as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid, either by their parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns."

In 1700 the State of Connecticut enacted its system of public instruction, which embraced the following as its first obligation on every parent and guardian of children: "Not to suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as have a single child or apprentice unable to read the holy word of God, and the good laws of the colony";

and also, "To bring them up to some lawful calling or employment," under a penalty for each offence.

The right of private judgment presupposes a judgment to judge with. This presupposes knowledge, and knowledge is the result of education. Hence, the first duty of the State, as the Fathers saw it, was to educate the children thereof. Our Pilgrim Fathers carried with them from their old to their new home a realizing sense of the importance of this subject. It may well be said of them, as Froude has said of the Scotch: "With them education was a passion," for scarcely had they got roofs over their heads in the forest before we find them establishing public schools and appointing schoolmasters. Here is a copy of one of the earliest records of Boston:

"The 13th of ye 2nd month, 1635. It was then generally agreed upon yt our brother Philemon Purmount shall be intreated to become schoolmaster for ye teaching and nourturing of all children with us."

Next year, only six years after the first settlement of Boston, four hundred pounds was appropriated toward the establishment of a college. This sum exceeded the entire tax levy of the colony for the year.

Eleven years later the State of Massachusetts made the support of schools compulsory and education universal and free; and we read that "in 1665, every town had a free school, and, if it contained over one hundred families, a grammar school. In Connecticut every town that did not keep a school for three months in the year was liable to a fine."

Such was the policy adopted by the men of the people who sought these northern shores that they might establish and enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Far different was the policy of the aristocratic element with which Virginia was cursed. Twenty years after the establishment of free schools by law in New England, Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, wrote:

"I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

Even in the early part of the eighteenth century, says Sir Charles Lyell, "there was not one bookshop in Virginia, and no printing-presses," though "there were several in Boston, with no less than five printing offices, a fact which reflects the more credit on the Puritans, because at the same period (1724) there were no less than thirty-four counties in the mother country, Lancashire being one of the number, in which there was no printer."

Thus are the ideas and methods of democracy and aristocracy contrasted! The former is ever seeking the education of the masses; the latter from its very nature is ever seeking to restrain education to the few, well knowing that privilege dies as knowledge spreads. It was death to teach a slave to read. The instinct which led the slaveholder to keep his slave in ignorance was a true one. Educate man, and his shackles fall. Free education may be trusted to burst every obstruction which stands in the path of the democracy towards its goal, the equality of the citizen, and this it will reach quietly and without violence, as the swelling sapling in its growth breaks its guard. "Ballots, not bullets," is the motto of educated republicanism, and "Obedience to Law" its fundamental requirement.

Owing to the incompleteness of early censuses, it is not easy to ascertain the exact condition of education in 1830. But contemporary writers sometimes make estimates which are accessible. From these we learn that in 1831 the proportion of school children to population in America was fifteen per cent., or double the European average, and second only to that of Prussia. It would have been as high as twenty-two per cent. (much beyond the Prussian average) but for the slave States, where the negro slaves were not educated. In 1832 a European visitor said:

"The State of New York stands foremost on the list of school children. It counts in the proportion of one to three and one-half of the number of its inhabitants; the New England States one to five; Pennsylvania and New Jersey, one to eight; Illinois one to thirteen; Kentucky, one to twenty-five, and so on. By way of comparison, I may just mention that Wurtemberg has one to six; Bavaria and Prussia, one to seven; Scotland, one to ten; France, one to seventeen and one-half; Russia, one to three hundred and sixty-seven."

The condition of the country in regard to education in 1834 is summed up by a contemporary as follows:

"In the New England States there are not less than five hundred thousand children educated at the common schools, and in 1830 there were four hundred and seventy-three thousand five hundred and eight white persons in these States between the ages of five and fifteen; and allowing for the increase of population, we may say that the benefits of elementary education are universally diffused.

"In the States to the south and west of New York, however, there is reason to believe that there were one million two hundred and ten thousand children without the knowledge and benefits of education."

Education was a subject of census inquiry for the first time in 1840—fifty years ago—when Massachusetts was

the only State whose public schools were all free. State after State rapidly adopted the free-school system, which is now universal. Public provision has increased for secondary and superior as well as for elementary education. The records show a more rapid growth of school enrolment than of population, indicating the intense interest taken in the education of the people; the number of pupils enrolled in schools, exclusive of special classes, reformatory, charitable, and Indian schools, being as follows:

	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Population . .	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,622,250
All Schools . .	2,025,656	3,642,694	5,477,037	7,210,420	11,250,000	14,373,670

Many English readers will, no doubt, be surprised to learn that the general government has little to do with the education of the people. This duty belongs to the different States, and is fulfilled by them each in its own way. A system of public education is in operation in every State and Territory in the Union, and forty out of the fifty-one States and Territories have provided normal schools for the training of teachers. There are one hundred and ten of these institutions. All have recognized the duty of providing for every child a free common-school education, and in furtherance of this end the general government has frequently made liberal grants of public lands to the various States. Even as early as the Continental Congress the question of affording aid to education was discussed, and as rapidly as States were formed of the public domain Congress set apart the sixteenth section in each township for school purposes.

March 3, 1849, in the act establishing a Territorial government for Minnesota, two sections—the sixteenth and the thirty-sixth—in each township were thus set apart, and a like provision has been incorporated in the statutes for every State and Territory organized since.

Nearly sixty-eight million acres of land have been given in this manner to twenty-seven States. Further special grants of land have from time to time been made for the creation of State universities; and in 1862 each State received a grant either of land within the State or an equivalent amount of scrip, for the purpose of establishing and endowing schools of agriculture and the mechanical arts. The total amount of land hitherto devoted by the general government to educational endowments exceeds seventy-eight millions of acres, an area greater than that of England, Scotland, and Ireland combined.

Throughout the history of the Republic great liberality has been displayed in grants for educational purposes. The people who cannot be induced to make the salaries of officials half as large as those of the officials of the petty powers of Europe, nevertheless urge their representatives to vote millions upon millions for educational purposes. The ratio of money spent on the army to that spent on education is in startling contrast to that of Europe. America is the only country which spends more upon education than on war or preparation for war. Great Britain does not spend one-third as much, France not one-fifth, or Russia one-twenty-sixth as much upon education as upon the army. Here are the figures, which the patient democracies of Europe will do well to ponder. How long yet will men, instigated by royal and aristo-

cratic jealousies, spend their wealth and best energies upon means for slaughtering each other?

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES ON—

	Armaments.		Education.	
	£	$	£	$
Britain	35,110,000	175,550,000	10,391,000	51,955,000
France	35,000,000	175,000,000	6,200,000	31,000,000
Germany	22,800,000	114,000,000	6,000,000	34,500,000
Russia	26,600,000	153,000,000	1,000,000	5,000,000
Austria	13,400,000	67,000,000	2,900,000	14,500,000
Italy	18,900,000	94,500,000	1,100,000	5,500,000
Spain	6,300,000	31,500,000	1,200,000	6,000,000
Other European States	8,300,000	41,500,000	2,100,000	10,500,000
Total	166,410,000	832,050,000	31,791,000	158,955,000
United States	15,000,000	75,000,000	27,400,000	137,000,000

The total expenditure of the Republic for education is thus seen to be almost equal to that of Europe. For every pound spent by Great Britain for the education of her people, three and a half pounds are spent upon the army and navy. The Republic reverses this practice and spends nearly two pounds upon education for every one spent upon war.

Truly has Longfellow written:

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals nor forts.

"The warrior's name would be a name abhorrèd,
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain."

While part of the New England States fully embraced the idea of free and universal public instruction very early in their history, the great State of New York adjoining

them only reached this height after a struggle of many long years. It was not until 1851 that the popular vote sanctioned the principle that the State must educate all its children. The State now spends seventeen millions of dollars per annum (more than three millions sterling) upon education. A free college in the city of New York is filled with the best students from the public schools; a free normal college provides higher education for female teachers, and in every part of the State normal schools produce great numbers of accomplished teachers. The State also contributes liberally to every public library which fulfils certain conditions.

The schools of the Republic are of two classes: those supported by the authorities, in which instruction is free to all, and those supported by private means or endowment, in which fees are charged. Nearly all the primary instruction is furnished by the former class, there being very few private schools of the primary grade. On the other hand, nearly all the collegiate instruction, and a large proportion of the secondary instruction, is provided for by private means.

The Republic spends annually upon its public schools the sum of $138,758,717. On an average each inhabitant contributes to the education of the young the sum of $2.21 annually. The enrolment in the public common schools of the United States, in the year 1890, is shown in the following statement:

	TOTAL.	WHITE.	COLORED.
Teachers . . .	362,008	337,896	24,112
Pupils . . .	12,705,386	11,358,515	1,346,871

Thus, about one-fifth of the entire population is enrolled, or, on an average, about one person to each family; and the average daily attendance at school exceeds eight millions, or two-thirds the enrolment.

From an educational standpoint the South has made great advances during the decade, as will be seen from the following table:

STATES.	PER CENT. OF GAIN IN POPULATION. 1880-1890.	PER CENT. OF GAIN IN PUBLIC COMMON SCHOOL ENROLMENT. 1880-1890.
Arkansas	40.58	106.10
Louisiana	19.01	53.52
Maryland	11.49	22.85
Mississippi	18.96	40.96
North Carolina	15.59	27.08
South Carolina	15.63	50.89
Texas	40.44	170.32
Virginia	9.48	55.06
West Virginia	23.34	34.42
Delaware	14.93	19.01
District of Columbia	29.71	39.59
Georgia	19.14	44.47
Florida	45.24	110.58
Missouri	23.56	27.64
Kentucky	12.73	39.85
Tennessee	14.60	56.34
Alabama	19.84	61.53

It will be seen from the above table that the percentage of gain in public school enrolment has far outstripped the percentage of gain in population in these States.

The average length of the school year for the whole country is one hundred and thirty-four and a half days; or, assuming five days to each week, school lasts on an average for about twenty-seven weeks. The army of teachers numbers 422,929, about two-thirds of whom are females. The average wages per month paid teachers in

the public schools vary greatly in the different States. Arizona pays her female teachers $78.91, and her male teachers $85.94; Massachusetts, $45.93 and $108.88; North Carolina, $21.95 and $24.57. The public schools are supported almost entirely by direct taxation, and no tax is so willingly paid as the school tax. Of the amount raised in 1889, namely, $138,758,717, seventy-three per cent. was from direct taxation, the remainder being income from investments. This is very unequally distributed among the States. Colorado spends most per head upon her scholars, namely, $25.67. Then comes the District of Columbia, with $24.55 per head. California ranks third, with $23.08 per head, which is nearly twice the amount expended by London.

The amounts per capita of the total population expended upon education by each State range from $0.37 in Alabama to $4.24 in California. In the Northern States the average standard is $2.60, while in the Southern States the expenditure is a trifle less than one dollar per head. The Western States are the highest of all, namely, $3.34. It is an interesting fact that the Northeastern States, including New England, which was the home of the public school system, did not devote as much money to education as the newer States of the upper Mississippi valley, while, in comparison with the new States and Territories of the far West, they are far behind in this respect. Indeed, the most advanced States in the Union, as regards education, both in the amount expended and in its visible results upon illiteracy, are those of the upper Mississippi valley, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska.

Following the public schools, in which every child is

entitled to receive a common-school education free of expense, we come to the various institutions for higher education, with most of which the State has nothing to do. These are mainly private schools, and depend for maintenance upon fees from scholars and from endowments. Some are authorized by State legislative enactments to grant degrees and diplomas, but as the standards of States differ greatly, a school entitled in a frontier State to call itself a university or a college might not rank as either in Massachusetts. We must, therefore, caution our readers not to be misled by figures which show many more colleges and universities in the former than in the latter State.

The number of public school buildings in the country exceeds two hundred and ten thousand, valued at over three hundred millions of dollars.

Besides the army of children educated at public schools, there are in private schools of grade below the normal school, 1,413,126 pupils, exclusive of 86,804 in commercial schools.

In most States schools for the training of teachers are maintained, four out of every five being supported by the State. In these over 36,890 pupils were instructed.

College education for women is rapidly increasing. New colleges are continually being started, while the number of students in the older ones is rapidly increasing. In 1889 there were in women's colleges 14,917 students.

In the universities and colleges there were in the same year 150,409 students, including 79,694 students in professional schools, such as those of law, theology, medicine, and engineering.

Unfortunately, at this date, 1892, the census returns of illiteracy for 1890 are not yet tabulated. Rapidly as the work of this census has been compiled and tabulated, these figures are not yet available, and we must perforce be content with those of the Tenth Census. There is every reason to believe the last census will show that the progress indicated by that of 1880 in reducing illiteracy has been maintained.

The position of America in regard to reading and writing in 1880 was this: Out of thirty-six and three-quarter million persons of ten years of age and over, nearly five million, or thirteen per cent., were unable to read, and six million and a quarter, or seventeen per cent., unable to write. In 1870 the percentage was sixteen and twenty per cent. respectively, so that the march against ignorance is still onward. The gain in the number able to write is significant. For every thousand inhabitants who could not read in 1870 there were but eight hundred and fifty-three in 1880, and for every thousand who could not write in 1870 there were but eight hundred and twenty-six who could not do so in 1880. In this improvement the colored population participated to almost as great an extent as the white, which encourages the friends of that race to look hopefully to its future. A satisfactory feature was the great reduction of illiteracy in the foreign-born element, for of every thousand foreign born who were illiterate in 1870 there were but seven hundred and fifty-nine in 1880, which testifies to the well-known fact that the character of immigration during this period was far higher than ever before. Of course the native illiterate are found mainly in the Southern States and among the colored people. Of these over ten years of age

in 1880, no less than seventy per cent. were unable to write, while of the native-born white (Southern as well as Northern) there were only eight and seven-tenths per cent. in this class. In the Southern States, taken as a whole, not more than sixty out of every hundred inhabitants over ten years of age can write.

That the condition of the colored population is due to circumstances and not to any inherent lack of capacity or disposition, we have the best evidence in the fact that while seventy-five and six-tenths per cent. of this class in the Southern States are illiterate, the States of the North Atlantic group present an average of illiteracy among the colored people as low as twenty-three and two-tenths per cent., or not one-third as great.

Throughout the whole North, where the mass of the people reside, it may be said that the native-born American, male and female, can read and write; for the percentage returned as unable to do so does not exceed an average of five per cent., most of whom, no doubt, are mentally incapacitated for instruction.

The average percentage of white males of twenty-one years and over, in 1880, who could not read and write was seven and eight-tenths, and of white females eleven per cent., only three more women than men in every hundred, showing that women in the Republic are not far behind. In 1870 the percentages were as follows: male illiterates eighteen and twenty-six-hundredths per cent., female illiterates twenty-one and eighty-seven-hundredths per cent. The decrease of illiteracy in ten years is one of the most surprisingly clear marks of the country's progress.

While the American living is ever mindful of the

cause of education, he does not forget it at death, and often bequeathes large sums to his favorite school or college. In 1880 such benefactions exceeded five and a half millions of dollars. But better than this, the rich citizen is fast learning that surplus wealth is only a trust to be administered during life for public ends. The sums given during the past far exceed those of any previous decade. Chicago has benefited to the extent of four million dollars, for university and manual training schools, gifts of Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Armour. The Drexel Institute, in Philadelphia, and half a million of dollars given to the training schools of New York City by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, are only a few of the most recent evidences that men are becoming more than ever alive to the truth that great wealth is but a trust.

Now let us just pause a moment to ask how monarchical and aristocratic institutions affect the minds of wealthy people in this respect. Great Britain is, next to her child, the richest country in the world. Her aristocracy, as a class, is by far the richest in the world. There is none comparable to it in the Republic. But who ever heard of a nobleman leaving large sums for the higher education of his fellows, or, indeed, for any public use whatever? A physician in London, Sir Erasmus Wilson, dies, and leaves a hundred thousand pounds, half his entire fortune, to the College of Physicians and Surgeons, to be used to extend its usefulness. Who can point to a member of the aristocracy who has risen beyond his own family, which is only another name for himself! The vain desire to found or maintain a family, or to increase its revenues or estate, is the ignoble ambition of a privileged order. What they give or leave, as a class, with few ex-

ceptions, is "nothing to nobody." We can say of the average peer:

> "The wretch concentred all in self,
> Living shall forfeit fair renown,
> And doubly dying shall go down
> To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

The few illustrious exceptions, all the more notable for their rarity, are wholly insufficient to redeem the order from the just reproach of grasping from the too indulgent state all that can be obtained, and using it only for aims which end with self.

The Republic has a remarkable list of educational institutions bestowed upon it by its millionnaires, among these Johns Hopkins University, Cornell University, Vanderbilt University, Packer Institute, Vassar College, Wellesley College, Smith College, Bryn Mawr College, Stanford University, and the Stevens Institute. These have each cost several millions of dollars, Johns Hopkins alone having an endowment of $5,000,000 (£1,000,000), the gift of one man. The Stanford University has even more, and is also the gift of one man; and John A. Rockefeller has established an equally important university in Chicago.

The ratio of population to students enrolled by classes of institutions in 1890 shows that one out of every five attends the public schools, while secondary education is received by one out of every 103; university and college education by one out of every 416; commercial and business education by one out of every 721; a scientific education by one out of every 8,785; a theological education by one out of every 7,390; a legal education by one out

of every 13,200; and a medical education by one out of every 2,789. Such is the record of the educational establishments of all kinds in the country as given by the census of 1890.

The moral to be drawn from America by every nation is this: "Seek ye first the education of the people, and all other political blessings will be added unto you." The quarrels of party, the game of politics, this or that measure of reform, are but surface affairs of little moment. The education of the people is the real underlying work for earnest men who would best serve their country. In this, the most creditable work of all, it cannot be denied that the Republic occupies the first place.

It is and ever has been with all Americans as with Jefferson: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest so shall it be the latest, of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." Here speaks the inspired voice of triumphant Democracy, which holds as its first duty the universal education of the people. Of all its boasts, of all its triumphs, this is at once its proudest and its best. We say to the old monarchies of the world: Behold, Democracy produces as its natural fruit an educated people, and thus insures its own triumph.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

"They are also a religious people. Christianity influences conduct, not indeed half as much as in theory it ought, but probably more than it does in any other modern country. Nowhere are so many philanthropic and reformatory agencies at work."—BRYCE, *American Commonwealth.*

"The religion of a people, prevailing at any time or place, is the highest expression of which that people is then and there capable."

THE evolutionist rests upon the two lines just quoted, and, therefore, he is patient with and kind to religion in all its forms, and sings with one of the greatest singers, dear Matthew Arnold:

"Children of men! the unseen Power whose eye
Forever doth accompany mankind,
Hath look'd on no religion scornfully
That men did ever find.
Which has not taught weak wills how much they can?
Which has not fall'n on the dry heart like rain?
Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man,
Thou must be born again!"

One hundred and fifty differing sects are found in the United States, each fortunately certain that it has in its bosom the truth; and each has part of the truth, but none has all the truth. All truth is not to be gathered in one or all the sects. It is too vast, too all-pervading, to be cabined, cribbed, confined. As well might one country claim a monopoly of all the air of heaven, as one sect all the truth of heaven. Each may have some, but none can have all.

The relation of the Church, or of all the churches, to the State is one of the problems which the Republic may be said to have solved. It is decided that it has no relation whatever.

The State has as much relation to religion as to medicine, and no more; and it might as well establish homœopathy as its medical system, as episcopacy as its religion. It might as well undertake the health of the body as of the soul—indeed, far better, since it is a much less complex task.

In the Republic the regulation of religious beliefs by the State would be regarded as absurd as the regulation of dress. It is not even admitted that the State has a right to patronize one form of religion—much less one sect—to the prejudice of other forms. Buddhism, Confucianism, and the crudest Fetichism, stand in exactly the same relation to the State as any of the sects which derive their creeds from the teachings of Christ. No form of worship, no religious creed, is selected by the State for special favor. The "heathen Chinee" in New York may worship his ancestors with a restful consciousness that the black-coated Christian, passing with gold-edged book to church, is not more favored by the State.

And how does this system of perfect religious equality work? Perfectly, as to all sects in general; much better than the advocates of the State Church system in the mother-land could believe for the Anglican Church in particular, which is vigorous to a degree which might well be envied by the parent stem. So far from religion being neglected by the people, the number of religious edifices in proportion to population is far greater in America than in Britain, and the congregations frequenting them are quite as large. In England there are thirty-five thousand

churches, or one hundred and forty-four to each one hundred thousand inhabitants; in the United States there are one hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and ninety-seven churches, or two hundred and twenty-seven to each one hundred thousand inhabitants. Of the latter, more than one hundred and thirty thousand are owned by Protestants.

In 1800, when the population of the United States was about five millions, the number of communicants in the various churches was three hundred and sixty-four thousand, an average of one to fifteen of the population. In 1890, with a population of sixty-three millions, the number of Protestant communicants was more than fourteen millions, an average of one in four and a half. If the members of the Catholic Church be included, the proportion is largely increased.

The multiplication of handsome religious edifices is remarkable. Many American churches are noted for their beauty. All the large cities have examples of church architecture which would not discredit towns having a history as old as that of Coventry; and in rural districts the church spires rise above the cottages and trees as frequently as they tower over the hamlets in the old country. One of the grandest churches of modern times is the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Fifth Avenue, New York, a massive Gothic structure of white marble; and on the same avenue are quite half a dozen other churches of great beauty and architectural merit.

The clergy in the United States are maintained solely by the worshippers. The government, of course, gives nothing. There is no "dissent," because no sect is preferred.

The leading part which religion played in the settlement of this continent had an effect which continues to mark the American of to-day. He is a church-going person and a liberal contributor to the cause of the Church, though he has outgrown the strict and narrow creeds of early days, and is religious, not theological.

As late as 1705 aristocratic Virginia decreed three years' imprisonment and many political disabilities upon any one who should a second time assert disbelief in the Trinity and the Scriptures; but the government of New Amsterdam was rather more advanced, for in 1664 it decreed that no person who professed Christianity should be molested, fined, or imprisoned for difference of religious opinions. The Revolutionary struggle quickened the march toward complete religious toleration. The fear that England would establish the Episcopal Church in America, if the colonies should be subdued, drew together all the other sects and all favorable to religious equality, and therefore opposed to the claims of the English Church. "This," says John Adams, "contributed as much as any other cause to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies." And the intensity of colonial opposition to the State Church is shown by the special instructions of the Assembly of Massachusetts to its agent in London, in 1768:

"The establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America is very zealously contended for (by a party in the British Parliament); and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness in order peaceably to enjoy

their privileges—civil and religious. We hope in God that such an establishment will never take place in America ; and we desire you would strenuously oppose it ! "

In addition, therefore, to the dissatisfaction which the State Church produces at home, it is justly to be charged with being one of the chief causes which led to the loss of the colonies abroad.

When the colonies triumphed, and a Constitution had to be made for their government as a nation, there was but one course possible. Since no sect could be given preference, and especially not the Episcopal sect, which had been the least loyal of all to the cause of Independence, it followed that perfect equality must be established. The State must protect all religions alike; and accordingly the Constitution provides that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Such is the charter under which Jew and Gentile, Christian, Mahometan, and Hindoo stand equal and secure in their rights. The various States soon followed the spirit of this law, Virginia taking the lead. Provision for the support of the clergy was erased from their Constitutions, and yet the variety of healthy and vigorous religious life in the United States to-day is greater than anywhere else in the world. So much for a free Church in a free State.

Denominations are very numerous, numbering nearly one hundred and fifty separate and distinct church organizations, holding to widely different creeds, varying greatly in practice, and representing all possible variations of church polity.

After the seven great denominations—Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic, Baptist, and

Episcopalian—have been accounted for, the other religious associations represent less than fifteen per cent. of the church edifices, and less than fourteen per cent. of the aggregate value of church property. The tendency to multiply sects or associations is very marked. These divisions often result in eight or ten half-sustained religious organizations in small cities and towns, when the concentration of forces would give four or five strong churches. It would be difficult accurately to define the difference between the Seventh-day and the Six-Principle Baptists and the River Brethren, between the Primitive and the Freewill, between the Original Freewill and the Old Two-Seed in Spirit, between the General and the General Freewill. This does not exhaust the resources of our Baptist brethren in the creation of branches. Besides the Regular South, the Regular North, the Regular Colored, the census tables show several minor divisions of this remarkable church organization.

The eleventh census shows the following number of churches, ministers, and the value of church property for 1890:

CHURCH STATISTICS, ELEVENTH CENSUS.

DENOMINATIONS.	NUMBER OF CHURCHES.	NUMBER OF MINISTERS.	VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.
Baptist	37,742	25,646	$82,680,227
Catholic	8,816	9,196	118,371,366
Congregational	4,736	5,058	43,335,437
Lutheran	6,701	4,591	35,060,354
Methodist	46,137	30,000	132,140,179
Presbyterian	12,471	10,448	94,869,098
Episcopalian	5,104	4,224	82,835,418
All other	20,890	21,769	90,690,165
All Denominations	142,597	110,932	679,982,244

The following table gives the membership of the various denominations:

CHURCH STATISTICS, ELEVENTH CENSUS.—MEMBERSHIP BY COMMUNIONS.

Adventists	60,491	German Evangelical Synod	187,432
Baptists	3,762,773	Jewish Congregations	130,496
Brethren (River)	3,427	Latter Day Saints	166,125
Brethren (Plymouth)	6,661	Lutherans	1,231,072
Catholic	6,257,871	Mennonites	41,541
Catholic Apostolic	1,394	Methodist	4,589,284
Christadelphians	1,277	Moravians	11,781
Christians	103,722	Presbyterians	1,278,332
Christian Missionary Association	754	Episcopalians	540,509
Christian Scientists	8,724	Reformed	309,458
Christian Union	18,214	Salvation Army	8,742
Church of God	22,511	Schwenkfeldians	306
Church Triumphant	384	Social Brethren	913
Church of the New Jerusalem	7,095	Society for Ethical Culture	1,064
Communistic Societies	4,049	Spiritualists	45,030
Congregationalists	512,771	Theosophical Society	695
Disciples of Christ	641,051	United Brethren	225,271
Dunkards	73,795	Unitarians	67,749
Evangelical Association	133,313	Universalists	49,194
Friends	107,208	All others	14,126
Friends of the Temple	340	Total	20,643,101
German Evangelical Protestant	36,156		

Among the last class, "All others," we have a varied array. No sect has been noted in this table with less than 300 members; but nearly 150 different sects are reported, ranging from the Altruists, which number 25, up to the Schwenkfeldians, numbering 306. The celebrated exclamation of the Frenchman in regard to England comes in point: "Mon Dieu, what a country!

erent religions and only one sauce!" He
friend would find one hundred and fifty
cted, none favored, by the State; each supp
l doing its best to enlighten the darkness
bors; each also, no doubt, firmly believin
red with the brightest rays.

ntion is invited to three interesting tables, sh
ber of churches and the value of church pr
g to the censuses of 1850 and 1890:

NUMBER OF CHURCHES.

INATIONS.	NUMBER.		INCREASE P 1850 TO
	1850.	1890.	

VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

DENOMINATIONS.	AMOUNT.		INCREASE PER CENT. 1850 TO 1890.
	1850.	1890.	
ongregational .	$7,970,195	$43,335,437	443.72
utheran . . .	2,854,286	35,060,354	1,128.34
ethodist . . .	14,826,148	132,140,179	791.26
resbyterian . .	14,557,089	94,869,098	551.70
atholic . . .	9,256,758	118,371,366	1,178.76
aptist	11,001,127	82,680,227	651.56
piscopalian . .	11,384,210	82,835,418	627.63
ll other . . .	15,596,558	90,690,165	481.48
Total . . .	$87,446,371	$679,982,244	677.60

DENOMINATIONS.	PER CENT. TO TOTAL OF CHURCHES.		PER CENT. OF TOTAL VALUE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.	
	1850.	1890.	1850.	1890.
ongregational . .	4.47	3.32	9.11	6.37
utheran	3.20	4.70	3.26	5.16
ethodist . . .	34.93	32.35	16.95	19.43
resbyterian . . .	12.74	8.75	16.65	13.95
atholic	3.21	6.18	10.59	17.41
aptist	24.51	26.47	12.58	12.16
piscopalian . . .	3.83	3.58	13.02	12.18
ll other	13.11	14.65	17.84	13.34
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

While these returns of 1850, the only ones of the kind retending to cover all denominations that can be found i the census reports, are probably sufficiently accurate as) number of churches and value of church property for)mparison with 1890, they cannot be used safely in com-aring the number of communicants, as so much depends n the definition of a "communicant." The first table

shows an increase of about two hundred and seventy-three per cent. in the number of church edifices in forty years, the greatest percentage of increase being six hundred and eighteen, the rate of growth of the Catholic churches. In point of number the Methodists stood first in 1850, and still retain the position, no less than 46,137 church edifices having been returned. Nearly one-third of all the church edifices belong to the Methodist Church, while the Baptists can lay claim to more than one-quarter. Relatively speaking, the Episcopal Church retains about the same position to the other denominations as it did in 1850. On the other hand, the Catholic Church has advanced considerably, from a trifle over three per cent. of the total number to over six per cent. In point of value, however, the Catholic Church has made still greater strides, from an ownership of ten and one-half per cent. of all the church property to an ownership of seventeen and a half per cent. In this respect the Catholic Church now ranks second in importance, being exceeded only by the Methodist Church, which returns nearly twenty per cent. of the total value. In 1850 the value of church property of four denominations—Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopal—outranked the Catholic Church in this respect.

I have merely pointed out the salient features. These tables accord with the general knowledge of the history of association in religion in the United States. According to the returns of the eleventh census the number of communicants in seven principal religious denominations, for which the statistics have been completed, is as follows :

DENOMINATIONS.	NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS.
Congregational	512,771
Lutheran	1,231,072
Methodist	4,589,284
Presbyterian	1,278,332
Catholic	6,257,871
Baptist	3,742,778
Episcopalian	540,509
Total	18,152,612

The communicants of other denominations will bring the aggregate up to over 20,600,000.

Over twenty million communicants and an increase in the total value of church property from $87,000,000 in 1850 to $680,000,000 in 1890, or at the rate of six hundred and seventy-seven per cent. It is difficult for Europeans to realize what this means. Side by side with the schoolhouse the number of churches has multiplied more than three times in a trifle more than a generation, and their money value increased more than sixfold. The rude pine building with pepper-box-like steeple has given place to the neat brick or stone structure, with picturesque tower and arched doors and windows. In some of our large cities, as I have said, have been built churches and cathedrals that compare favorably with the grand old church edifices of Europe. In no branch of architecture have we made more rapid strides as a nation than in church architecture. Certainly nothing can be more satisfactory to the people of this nation than the eleventh census returns in relation to schools, churches, and dwelling-houses.

The very core of the nation lies in its homes, in its separate dwellings, occupied and owned by single families.

Notwithstanding the concentration of population, the separate homes of the people are not diminishing in number, but, taken as a whole, are increasing. The eleventh census shows a total of 11,483,318 dwelling-houses returned, as against a total of 8,955,812 for 1880, a gain of 2,527,506, or about twenty-eight per cent. during the decade. As the growth of population was a trifle less than twenty-five per cent., the gain in homes has more than kept pace with the gain in population. While the tendency in many of our large cities is to mass population in tenement-houses, the returns for the country show a satisfactory diminution of the number of persons to a dwelling from 5.94 in 1850 to 5.60 in 1880, and 5.45 in 1890.

In a like manner the educational returns of the eleventh census show a large relative increase in school enrolment in the very spots where illiteracy was greatest in 1880. The per cent. of enrolment to population for the former slave States in 1890 stood: white, twenty-one and sixty-eight one-hundredths; colored, eighteen and fifty-five one-hundredths; and the per cent. of increase between 1880 and 1890 was forty-five and ninety-one one-hundredths for white, and sixty-one and fifty-eight one-hundredths for colored pupils. In 1890 more than one-fifth of the white population South was enrolled in the public schools, and but little less than one-fifth of the colored population. This astonishing record is an exceedingly hopeful indication for the future, and is especially cheering in the promise of deliverance from the perils of the dense ignorance that prevailed among the blacks before citizenship was conferred upon them. The statistics of the colored denominations in the United States likewise show the progress made by the negro during the

first quarter of a century which has elapsed since that portion of the people emerged from slavery.

The mighty host which makes up the membership of the tens of thousands of churches, and the millions of money that have been invested in church property by the emancipated slaves and their children, are facts that speak stronger than words of the sure foundation that is being laid for the future of the negro in America; but that the words of those who are associated with the negro, and are interested in the religious and social advancement of these people, are not wanting to establish the fact that the progress of the negro is not only all that the figures might indicate, but that they are ready and anxious to progress, is found in publications by the whites in the South. Below is an extract from the minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention of 1889, at Macon:

"There is no mistaking the fact that there is on the part of the negroes an earnest desire to acquire knowledge. This is seen in their anxiety to get books and to read them, and very marked in sending their children to the schools throughout the country. In this respect they show more concern than the illiterate whites. The colored Baptists are not greatly behind their white brethren in the number of schools. I visit them occasionally." *

Thus is the great trinity of moral and intellectual force—HOME, SCHOOL, and CHURCH—working out the problem of civilization in this country in a manner that should be gratifying to all who love the Republic. The patriotic citizen may regard the future of his country without fear as long as all goes well with Home, School, and Church.

We do not yet see in the Republic a tendency to the

* Dr. McIntosh, in twelfth annual report of the Board of Missions, 1889.

obliteration of sects. We do see, however, that the preliminary stage toward this has been developed. The sects are mingling more and more one with another in many great works. Coöperation embracing all the sects is noticeable. The Jewish rabbi, the Catholic priest, and the Episcopal minister, and those of all the other denominations, are constantly seen together occupying the same platform and advocating the same measures. When this stage of progress toward unity is fully developed, the next step is not far distant.

A fine proof of this is furnished by the recent meeting, in the largest hall in New York, to pay a tribute to the memory of the lamented Episcopal bishop, Phillips Brooks. Probably a more representative gathering never assembled. The speakers were the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims (Congregationalist), of Brooklyn; the Rev. J. R. Day, of the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church; the Jewish Rabbi Gottheil, of the Temple Emanu-El; Father Thomas Ducey, of St. Leo's Roman Catholic Church; the Rev. Lyman Abbott, pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn; and the Rev. David H. Greer, rector of St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church. The eulogies one and all extolled the man, his nature and his works. There was nothing said about the special form of his belief. The occasional meeting and mingling of the leading ministers of the various sects may safely be held to foreshadow their future union.

By far the most notable expression upon the subject of church union is that of the president of Bowdoin College in the *Forum*, April, 1893, from which I quote:

"The severe application of the stern law of the survival of the

fittest is our duty to the country churches. As our Lord tells us, salt that has lost its savor must be trodden under foot of men; the fruitless branches must be cast into the flames. This must be applied to churches as strictly as to individuals. The weak and feeble must be made to yield to the strong and vigorous. A large part of the home missionary money of the United States is spent in the unwise and unchristian endeavor to avert the penalty of that law of Nature and of God which dooms to speedy death all that is feeble and narrow and inefficient and unnecessary. If each denomination would go through the country pulling up its weak churches by the roots and sending their members to strengthen the strong churches of the immediate neighborhood, and then would concentrate its effort in making stronger the churches that are already strong, the problem of church union would soon solve itself. This will seem a hard saying to many. It is, however, no harder than the saying of Darwin that the fittest shall survive; no harder than the saying of Jesus, 'For he that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.'

"In addition to this organized effort of the denominations there is a work for each individual to do within his own denomination. He should remain within the communion to which he belongs, cherishing to the utmost its peculiar excellences, and there use the full extent of his influence to cast out all arbitrary, fantastic, and divisive doctrines and practices which tradition and bigotry have fastened upon it. He should see the excellences as well as the defects of sister denominations, and do all in his power to ingraft the better fruits of these other denominations upon the trunk with which he is identified. Thus, if he is a Presbyterian, his first duty is to labor for liberty of thought and investigation; if a Unitarian, it is his duty to labor for definiteness of dogmatic statement of religious truth; if a Baptist, he must labor for breadth of Christian fellowship and a clear distinction between essentials and non-essentials; if a Methodist, he must labor for rational conviction rather than emotional expression of his faith; if a Universalist, he must labor for a keener sense of moral responsibility, as all the leaders of that denomination are doing to-day; if a Catholic, he must be the champion of individual liberty within a church that has always erred

in the direction of excessive centralization of authority; if a Congregationalist, he must fight for a larger recognition of the organic nature of the church; if an Episcopalian, his duty lies in the direction of that emancipation from the leading-strings of doubtful tradition and in the direction of that appeal to spiritual realities and practical common sense of which Bishop Brooks was the conspicuous representative. To try to found a new church would be to add one more to the existing competitors. The true policy is to develop and broaden the churches that we have. Each denomination will lose here and gain there, and the outcome will be a gain to all. Each denomination, by losing several feeble and dependent churches, will gain a few strong and self-supporting churches; and both loss and gain will be an advantage."

There are evidently forces at work in the theological world likely to produce a great change.

Without church-rate or tithe, without State endowment or State supervision, religion in America has spontaneously acquired a strength which no political support could have given. It is a living force entering into the lives of the people, and drawing them closer together in unity of feeling, and working silently and without sign of the friction which in the mother country results from a union with the State, which, as we have seen, tends strongly to keep the people divided one from another. The power of the church in America must not be sought, as Burke said of an ideal aristocracy, "in rotten parchments, under dripping and perishing walls, but in full vigor, and acting with vital energy and power, in the character of the leading men and natural interests of the country." Even if judged by the accommodations provided, and the sums spent upon church organizations, Democracy can safely claim that of all the divisions of English-speaking people, it has produced the most religious community yet known.

CHAPTER IX

PAUPERISM AND CRIME

"The poor ye have always with you."

ONE sure proof that man improves is the gentler punishments which it is necessary to inflict, and the more tender care now taken of the poor and helpless. Indeed our race now appears to be in danger of overdoing matters in this direction, giving too much attention to the "submerged tenth," to the neglect of the more valuable element, "the swimming tenth," which proudly holds its head above water, and struggles on unaided to maintain its independence.

In the census of 1890 the number of paupers maintained in almshouses was found to be 73,045, which is not much more than one per cent. of the total population. This enumeration does not include outdoor paupers, meaning by that phrase the poor who are supported at their own homes or with private families. It is impossible to estimate the number of these outdoor paupers.

Of the almshouse paupers, 36,656 were native whites, 27,648 white foreigners, 2,274 whites whose birthplaces are not reported, and 6,467 colored; of the latter, 6,418 were negroes, 36 Indians, and 13 Chinese. Foreign criminals, and even destitute and dependent children, are also shipped to the United States and Canada every year by benevolent individuals and associations in Europe!

In the light of these figures, the outcry against the importation of foreign paupers cannot be deemed unreasonable, but, after all, these delinquents are a mere drop in the bucket. What are seventy-three thousand, one-half foreign? There are nearly as many blind people in the country; there are more feeble-minded, and there are also more insane people than there are paupers, and who ever hears of danger threatening from the enormous increase of the blind, or the feeble-minded, or the insane? Pauperism in the Republic really amounts to little.

Notwithstanding the augmentation of American pauperism by immigration, the proportion of paupers to the total population is less in the United States than in any other country; indeed, the difference is so great as to be almost incredible. Britain has a pauper army of nearly a million, or one pauper to every thirty-eight persons. America, with her greater population, has only seventy-three thousand and forty-five paupers in almshouses, or one pauper to every eight hundred and fifty-seven of her inhabitants. This does not include outdoor paupers, but it is safe to say that there is, relatively at least, twenty times as much pauperism in Great Britain as in America.

The following gives the table of pauperism in various countries:

COUNTRIES.	RATIO OF PERSONS RELIEVED TO POPULATION.
United Kingdom	258 per 10,000
France	404 per 10,000
Germany	339 per 10,000
Netherlands	496 per 10,000
Sweden	508 per 10,000
Norway	387 per 10,000
United States	12 per 10,000

For every pauper in the United States there are twenty-one paupers in Britain, forty-one in Holland and Belgium, more than thirty-three in France; thirty-two in Norway; and twenty-eight in Germany.

It is an encouraging fact that the ratio of almshouse paupers to the total population in the United States, trifling as it has been, is yet decreasing. In 1880 the almshouses held 1,320 in every million of the population; but in 1890 the number reported was only 1,166 in the million.

According to the census of 1890 the ratio of white foreign-born paupers to the white foreign-born population was about four times as great as the ratio of white native paupers to the white native population, while the ratio of the negro paupers to the negro population slightly exceeded the latter.

This question of pauperism is one of the most dangerous which civilized society has to face. It is so easy to go too far in encouraging the growth of slothful habits in the race. So far, necessity has been the potent and only sufficient spur to healthful labor, and if we make it too easy for people to live in comfort without exertion we may look for plenty of paupers. Incapacity to labor should be the test for admittance.

The mother country spends every year upon her paupers the enormous sum of more than fifty million dollars. With this amount appropriated each year, there is reason to fear that much seed is sown which bears a bad harvest. There are not wanting many wise men in Britain who warn the nation that much of its pauperism and crime are the natural growth of indiscriminate charity. The Poor Laws, designed to relieve pauperism and decrease crime, are now charged by these thoughtful men

with actually increasing both evils. What a very wise legislative measure of this nature that must be which does not weaken the best traits of the people and really works lasting good to the nation!

The causes of the comparative freedom of America from pauperism are not far to seek. In a rich, new country, no one who is able and willing to work need suffer from poverty; and there is yet no large class in America, rich or poor, content to remain idle. All are ambitious and must be doing something. The defective classes bear a smaller proportion to the population than is found in old countries, where the conditions of life are harder, and lack of proper food, clothing, and shelter results in imperfect development. The following table exhibits, in the first column, the ratio of insane, feeble-minded, blind, and deaf and dumb to the total population; in the second column, the ratio of the foreign-born members of these classes to the total foreign-born population; and in the third column, the ratio of the colored defective to the total colored population. These ratios are expressed in percentages:

DEFECTIVE CLASSES.	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN BORN.	PERCENTAGE OF COLORED.
Insane	.17	.38	.09
Feeble-minded . . .	.15	.10	.14
Blind	.08	.10	.09
Deaf and dumb . . .	.07	.05	.04
Total of the four classes	.47	.63	.36

This table shows that the foreign-born furnish double their proportion of the insane but less than their propor-

tion of feeble-minded. Similarly, the proportion of the blind is greater, while that of the deaf and dumb is less. On the other hand, the colored population has about one-half its proportion of the insane and deaf and dumb, and its full proportion of feeble-minded and blind. Of the four classes taken together, the foreign-born furnish much more than their due proportion, while the colored fall somewhat below. The excessive amount of insanity among foreigners is no doubt due in part to the mental shock which they experience in an entire change of atmospheric and social conditions; in part, also, to the change of diet. Persons afflicted in any way so as to be helpless rarely emigrate, and this accounts for the smaller ratio of deafness, blindness, and idiocy.

The small number of almshouse paupers must be further attributed to the great development which has been given, under democratic institutions, to private charity. Orphanages, industrial schools, hospitals, homes for the friendless, and other charities are very numerous and increasing in number. The population of these establishments is perhaps as large as that of the almshouses. The State governments also do a great deal in the direction of public charity, so called. It is usual for them to maintain not only hospitals for the insane, but educational institutions for the deaf, blind, and the feeble-minded. Some have homes for soldiers and sailors who served in the army or navy, and have since become disabled; also homes for orphan children of soldiers and sailors. In one or two States there are hospitals for the epileptic.

In the treatment of these three most important classes, Democracy shows to much advantage. America exhibits not only the least poverty, but the best system of alleviat-

ing the suffering occasioned by it. More than half the distressed within her borders are relieved by voluntary charities, and this is ever encroaching on the fields of State charities. It is a decided gain to the world when compulsory charity, such as annually forces ten millions sterling from the pockets of the British taxpayers, is replaced by voluntary charity from individuals, which blesses equally him who gives and him who takes; and this is a change which is rapidly taking place in America.

The close relations which exist between poverty and crime have received verification and repeated emphasis since Quetelet first published the results of his inquiries. In England it has been repeatedly shown that hard times bring increase of crime; and Dr. Mayr has shown that in Germany a rise in the price of flour is attended by an increase of robberies. Cheap food, on the other hand, is accompanied by diminution of crime. A scientific principle is thus added to sentiment in the song of "The English Roast Beef":

> "The man that's well fed, sirs,
> Can never do ill."

Accordingly we find that offences against property are fewer proportionately in the United States than in European countries.

The influence of free and universal education, together with that of political institutions which at every point inculcate self-respect and stimulate ambition, must be accorded much weight in keeping the Republic the freest of all civilized nations from pauperism and crime.

Humanitarian progress in the treatment of criminals in America is wholly the work of the last half century. The

present generation will scarcely credit the inhuman treatment which the delinquent classes received during the preceding generation. Here are a few examples, taken from official reports, which give us the sad picture of the past:

"During more than fifty years (from 1773 to 1827) the enlightened State of Connecticut had an underground prison in an old mining pit in the hills near Simsbury, which surpassed in horrors all that is known of European or American prisons.

"The passage to the 'Newgate Prison,' as it was called, was down a shaft by means of a ladder to some caverns in the sides of the hill. Here rooms were built of boards for the convicts, and heaps of straw formed their beds. The horrid gloom of these dungeons can be realized only by those who pass along its solitary windings. The impenetrable vastness supporting the awful mass above, impending as if to crush one to atoms; the dripping waters trickling like tears from its sides; the unearthly echoes—all conspire to strike the beholders aghast with amazement and horror.

"Here from thirty to one hundred prisoners were crowded together at night, their feet fastened to bars of iron, and chains about their necks attached to the beams above. The caves reeked with filth, occasioning incessant contagious fevers. The prison was the scene of constant outbreaks, and the most cruel and degrading punishments failed to reform the convicts. 'The system,' says the writer quoted above, 'was very well suited to make men into devils.' The prisoners educated one another in crime. The midnight revels were often like the howling in a pandemonium of tigers, banishing sleep and forbidding rest!

"At Northampton, Massachusetts, a dungeon is described, only four feet high, without window or chimney, the only ventilation being through the privy-vault and two orifices in the wall. In Worcester, a similar cell was only three feet high and eleven feet square, without window or orifice, the air entering through the vault and through the cracks in the door. This was connected with a similar room for lunatics. At Concord was a cell of like construction; and in Schenectady, New York, it is related that three men

confined a few hours in such a dungeon were found lifeless, though afterwards they were revived.

"Mr. Edward Livingstone, the great penal reformer of this country, mentions, in 1822, that from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons of both sexes were committed to prison in each year in New York City, all being presumed to be innocent, and the large proportion really so, and were forced into association with old criminals, eating, drinking, and sleeping with them; then after having learned the lesson of crime they were turned out to practise it."

These were the good old times we often hear of but never read about. The barbarity of the punishments which characterized the period immediately succeeding the Revolution had been much mitigated before 1830, and the substitution of milder punishments has since gone on with the amelioration of the criminal's life in prison. Surer convictions and lighter sentences mark the progress of penal reform. In a century or two, the most potent deterrent to crime will probably be the simple notice in the press that "in the City Court yesterday the conduct of so-and-so was disapproved by the jury." A thoroughbred needs neither whip nor spur. An educated man born of educated parents is the human thoroughbred.

The progress made in the treatment of youthful criminals is also to be credited to the half century we are considering. Before 1830 little or nothing had been done to effect a distinction or even a separation in jail between children and adult criminals. The result of unrestricted intercourse between them may be imagined. The boy guilty of a first offence was lost; the veteran in crime became his hero, and he only longed for discharge that he might emulate his exploits. Young girls in like manner were confined with the most hardened women, with simi-

lar results. Strange as it may seem to my readers of to-day, it was not till 1824 that the first reformatory, the New York House of Refuge, was built. Its influence for good was felt at once; and others were soon established, and in 1874, just fifty years after the initiation of the movement, there were thirty-four reformatories in the country, valued at nearly eight million dollars. The average number of inmates was eight thousand nine hundred and twenty-four; while up to that date no fewer than ninety-one thousand four hundred and two boys and girls had been received, and nearly seventy thousand were reported as permanently reformed—saved! From an official report we quote:

"These useful institutions are an immense advance on the prisons which preceded them. The youth is no longer confined with the mature criminal; the sexes also are separated; and at night, as a general practice, there is but one child in each cell, or, if in a large dormitory, the children are carefully watched to prevent evil communications. They are all taught useful trades, and have regular day instructions in schools besides religious teaching on Sunday. After their term of sentence has expired, or previously if their good conduct permit, they are indentured with worthy and respected farmers and mechanics."

Numerous societies exist in the large cities for the care of destitute children, the best known being the Children's Aid Society of New York, the growth and success of which have been remarkable. It began its labors in 1853, and has provided more than thirty thousand homeless children with homes and work in the country. Its lodging houses shelter an average of six hundred per night. Its industrial and night schools educate and partly feed and clothe more than ten thousand children per year. Its

great aim is to save the vagrant, homeless, and semi-criminal children of the city by drawing them to places of shelter and instruction, and finally transferring them to selected homes in the country, there being almost an unlimited demand for children's labor in this country. The result of these efforts is startling. The commitments for vagrancy in New York City fell from two thousand one hundred and sixty-one in 1861 to nine hundred and fourteen in 1871, and of young girls for petty stealing from one thousand one hundred and thirty-three in 1860 to five hundred and seventy-two in 1871, the population having increased in the interval seventeen per cent. Here is the true point at which to grapple with the difficulty, right in the beginning, before the innocent child learns the ways of its elder associates.

The democratic principle of self-government by voluntary organization for social as well as political ends, receives a remarkable illustration in the extent to which the organization of charities has been carried. In nearly all the large States the general oversight of the State charitable and correctional institutions has been committed to State boards of public charities, one for each State, whose function is to criticise and report upon the condition and management of the prisons, almshouses, hospitals for the insane, schools for the deaf and blind, and other establishments for the relief of misfortune and repression of crime, owned and maintained by the State or county governments. These boards have a great influence in shaping legislation wisely and well. They have formed an association known as the National Conference of Charities and Correction, now in its twenty-first year, in which representatives of the charity organization societies in cities and

of private charities are invited to take part. This conference meets in the different cities by invitation, and its published proceedings are an encyclopedia of the latest and best thought on all the topics embraced in its general programme. A similar organization of prison officials and voluntary students of the crime question, known as the National Prison Association, holds like annual sessions, and maintains friendly relations with the conference. State conferences of charities and State prison associations are not uncommon. Besides these great organizations, there are others resembling them, both State and national, such as the American Psychological Association, the conventions of institutions for the deaf, etc., too numerous to be mentioned here, all of which contribute to the aggregate development of very perfect systems. In nearly all the great cities, and in very many of the smaller towns, charity organization societies exist and flourish; and the greatest of all reforms has been accomplished by unions of the various charitable societies in one combined charity organization, which investigates every case, and insures aid being granted from one source. Previous to these unions, it has been found that many worthless people drew aid from several societies.

America has not been backward in applying modern ideas in the treatment of prisoners. Her penitentiaries now compare favorably with those of other nations, while no nation probably has gone so far in substituting mild for severe punishments. Repugnance to the death penalty is so strong that it has been abolished in several of the States. The large State prisons keep their prisoners steadily at work together during the day, and separate them in the cells at night. In some cases the labor is sold

to contractors who pay so much per man, but it is said that this system does not work well, as it brings outside influence into contact with the prisoners. It is more desirable that State officials should superintend and dispose of the work. Many of the prisons are self-supporting or nearly so, while that of Ohio yields an annual profit to the State. None of the prisons rank higher than that of this State at Columbus. In it the convict may by good behavior diminish his sentence five days a month, and may receive an allowance not exceeding one-tenth of his earnings. At the end of his term, if he has gained the full commutation, he is restored to his rights of citizenship. No cruel or degrading punishments are employed, and no distinctive prison clothing is worn. The prison library is much used. Sunday-school and prayer meeting are constantly attended, and there are two hundred well-conducted members of the prison church. In the Massachusetts State prison the convicts established among themselves a society for mutual debate and improvement. Teachers and chaplains are appointed for prisons, libraries provided, and in short these institutions are conducted upon the idea that it is not so important to punish the offender for what he has done, as to improve him, so that he will not be likely to break the laws again. In no department of human effort has a greater change been made for the better in America than in the treatment of the vagrant and criminal classes. How to punish the ignorant and misguided offender is not so eagerly discussed as how to prevent his growing up in ignorance and sin, and thus becoming an offender; nor does the question how to punish the criminal rank with the much more important query how he can be reformed. This is the

first consideration, and he is surrounded with libraries, teachers and chaplains, to save him as much as possible from vile associates during his prison life, and save him, if possible, from himself.

In Du Boys' "History of Criminal Law" we are shocked to read that in the fourteenth century three swine were tried before a legal court and sentenced to death for murdering a shepherd. "The whole herd was also condemned as accomplices, and that part of the sentence was only remitted on appealing to the Duke of Burgundy, whose pardon was granted with all the forms of Chancery." And Berriat Saint-Prix enumerates more than eighty condemnations to death or excommunications pronounced from 1120 to 1741 against every kind of animal from the ass to the grasshopper. To us such grotesque proceedings in the name of justice are incomprehensible. The next generation, or the next beyond, will probably read with horror of our inflicting the death punishment upon human beings. More than two thousand years ago Confucius was asked by the king whether the unprincipled should not be killed for the sake of the principled. The sage replied by asking another question: "Sir, in carrying on your government why should you kill at all?" Surely it is time for us to ask that question now. It is not the least sign of the Republic's position among nations that in many States the death penalty is already a thing of the past.

The civilization of a people may be tested by the character of their punishments. The milder these are, the more civilized the nation, as that home is to be rated highest in all the land in which the mildest system of parental government prevails, in which reproof takes its gentlest

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foreign immigrants. It is less in their children, and it is least of all in the native population.

Nothing is more clearly demonstrated by actual results than that the institutions of the Republic, political, social, and educational—the whole range of conditions surrounding human life—are such as to tend rapidly to produce a population more virtuous, more self-respecting, more law-abiding, and more conservative than any which has yet graced the world.

CHAPTER X

LITERATURE

"The chief glory of every people arises from its authors."—SAMUEL JOHNSON.

"He hath never fed of the dainties that are bred in a book; he hath not eat paper, as it were; he hath not drank ink, his intellect is not replenished; he is only an animal, only sensible in his duller parts."—SHAKESPEARE.

LITERATURE is a plant of slow growth, which only comes forth after many successive stages of development have prepared the soil for this most precious of all harvests, the crowning glory of the whole field of human exertion. Well did Macaulay describe the literature of Britain as its most illustrious monument. We may compare our production of iron and steel, of woollen and of cotton goods, and all things material, with like things of the old home; but if all the literature of all the countries in the world were combined, I should still hesitate to produce it in comparison with that which man owes to that little island in the North Sea called Britain. It were absurd, therefore, to expect the one-century-old Republic to have produced anything like the literature of her great parent. Nevertheless, no nation in its first century has ever produced anything to compare with the production of the Republic. As the first fruits of a great harvest yet to come, the American has much to be proud of when he presents the names of Franklin,

Irving, Hawthorne, Prescott, Bryant, Cooper, Bancroft, Emerson, Motley, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Whitman.

These are now of the past—but not of the far past, for all American authors are yet of the one era; the pristine age of the Republic in literature has not yet closed.

Of later authors the array is highly encouraging. The works of Holmes, Poe, Stowe, Burnett, Crawford, Hay, James, Howells, Clemens, Stockton, Wallace, Riley, and numerous others prove what the soil is capable of producing. ~~In scientific work American text-books are becoming quite common.~~

The works of many of those mentioned are as eagerly sought for and as highly appreciated in Britain as at home—in some cases even more so. Several American authors have received quite as high prices for their work as the most popular Briton has in his own country.

The popularity of Longfellow there is said by competent judges to exceed even that of Tennyson. Whittier was the favorite poet of John Bright, no doubt more from the ethical than from the poetic standpoint.

The republication of the best literature of America by Mr. Douglass, of Edinburgh, has proved most successful. His selections have been made with such rare insight that it now means fame to the American author to be upon his list.

It is quite natural that the new land should first conquer the lighter portion of the field of literature, that found in the periodical and the press.

In our day we can only see the dawn of a national school of American literature. It is for those who come after us, centuries hence, to congratulate themselves upon

such an unequalled possession as the old country has in the works of its literary men.

Upon one point above all others we may congratulate ourselves. The literature of the Republic is a pure literature, seeking to establish "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." With the vulgarities and indecencies of human life it has had little to do, but much with all that tends to refine and elevate human existence. Naturally one says with Addison, "Toward those who communicate their thoughts in print I cannot but look with a friendly regard, provided there is no tendency in their writings to vice;" and not the less with Beattie: "They who, by speech or writing, present to the ear or eye of modesty any of the indecencies I allude to, are pests of society."

The Shakespearean quotation at the head of this chapter was not written of the omnivorous American, for he has eaten paper, as it were, and drunk ink ever since he was born. These are his daily food. As far back as the year 1836, which brings us to the beginning of the sixty years under review, a writer in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* describing the extent of newspaper reading in America, says:

"In the cities of New York and Brooklyn, containing together a population of three hundred thousand, the daily circulation of the penny papers is not less than seventy thousand. These papers are to be found in every street, lane, and alley; in every hotel, tavern, counting-house, shop and store. Almost every porter and drayman, while not engaged in his occupation, may be seen with a penny paper in his hand."

This was the year when in England the newspaper tax was reduced from four pence (eight cents) to a penny (two cents) per copy; when the usual price of London papers was five pence (ten cents) or six pence (twelve cents). The great mass of the people, even if they could read, could only obtain a news-sheet by sharing among many the cost of the luxury. The majority of the intelligent had to be content with hearing articles read from papers to the company in a hall or coffee-room. Several factors have conspired to make the American people great newspaper readers. The Puritan settlers were active political partisans. Everything which concerned government was of deepest interest to them; and it was among such as they that the first manuscript news-letters had their largest circulation. The descendants of these hardy pilgrims inherited that jealous regard for the rights of the citizen which in the seventeenth century manifested itself in political non-conformity, and in the eighteenth century was the propelling force of the American Revolution. At its outbreak in 1775 thirty-seven newspapers existed in the colonies. Every man, woman, and child of New England at that trying time habitually discussed politics and sought news with an eagerness that we never feel, except under the stimulus of a great political crisis. In 1800 the young Republic had two hundred, and in 1810 three hundred and sixty-two newspapers, of which twenty-seven were dailies. In 1807–12 disputes with England revived men's interest in politics, an interest which became doubly keen when the embargo, non-intercourse, and the right of search of American vessels filled the journals, and led up to the second war with Great Britain. Conceived in political tribulation, born amid the throes of a

severe political struggle, and nursed in the midst of political excitements, the young American nation developed an aptitude for government which republican institutions have ever since tended to strengthen. Where every man is a voter, every man is a politician; and a nation of politicians is the journalist's favorite field. A further cause is the education which during the century has been so widely diffused. Teach a man how to read, and you at once invest him with the appetite for reading. And what can be of greater interest than the world's history read in contemporary lights? Again, newspaper taxes have never existed in the United States. As a consequence journalism attained maturity in America earlier than in Europe. These combined factors have made the American nation greater newspaper readers than any other people. The Republic has aptly been called the editor's paradise; and certainly, except in the "wild West," where revolvers are jocularly said to be as necessary to editors as inkstands, journalists do have pretty much their own way.

In 1890 the number of periodicals of all classes published in the United States was 18,531. Of these nearly two-thirds are devoted to news, politics, literature, and family reading. The remainder are mostly technical publications, relating to trade, industry, the professions, science, etc. Nearly three-fourths of the whole are weekly publications; fourteen per cent. are monthlies; daily newspapers form rather less than ten per cent. Seventeen thousand six hundred and forty-six periodicals are published in the English language, and 711 in German. The remaining percentage is contributed in the following languages, in this order: Scandinavian, French,

Spanish, Bohemian, Polish, Dutch, Italian, Hebrew, Finnish, Welsh, Hungarian, and Slavonic. There are, moreover, five Portuguese papers, two Chinese papers in San Francisco, a Russian journal in New York, a Cherokee one at Tahlequah, and one in Creek at Muskogee, Indian Territory. In none of these languages does the proportion of periodicals reach one per cent. of the whole, except in the German issues, which form nearly four per cent. The copies printed, as estimated by experts, aggregate in a year 2,280,000,000, giving an average of about four copies a week to every family.

The growth of American newspaper literature is no less astonishing than the growth of so many other things American. The first census of the press was taken in 1840, though estimates make the number of journals 740 in 1825, and 980 in 1830. The number of newspapers in 1840 was 1,403 as returned by the census, having an aggregate yearly issue of 195,838,673 copies. In 1850 it had increased to 2,526. In 1860 it reached 4,051; in 1870, 5,871; while ten years later it had nearly doubled, reaching the number of 11,314, or more than four times as many as in 1850. In circulation the increase has been even greater. In 1850 the average circulation per issue was 5,142,177; it leaped to 13,663,409 in 1860; to 20,842,475 in 1870; and in 1880 it reached the enormous number of 31,779,686. The figures for 1890 are not yet available, but when published they will undoubtedly show an even greater ratio of increase than that of the previous decade. The aggregate annual issues of all periodicals were returned as 2,067,848,201 copies. The morning newspapers of the principal cities consist of eight pages, like those of London, and are sold at the

ce, two cents (one penny). This size is
loubled and even quadrupled on Sunday:
eets crammed with advertising and rea
single paper sometimes containing more w
present volume. Several New York jou
early over $300,000 for typesetting, and $
for white paper.
epublican sheets are characterized by gr
than the monarchical—more spicy news,
a much more attractive mode of displayi
g English editor once remarked to me:
editors' who rank with the American, but n
ho excel yours." This was a just criticism.
ne leader-writer predominates; in America
It seems that the American journals are e
nciple that a line of news is worth more th
opinions. More than $16,000,000 (£3,200

forget that the press deals in the uncommon, the abnormal. A column is given to some startling monstrosity, a three-headed calf, for instance; but it doesn't follow that American calves, as a rule, possess more than the usual number of head-pieces seen in Europe. An unruly refugee with a dozen aliases kills a Texan rowdy in a barroom, farther away from New York than Cairo is from London, and the American press gives the fullest details, to be quoted in London in evidence of American barbarism. It isn't a corollary at all that human life is not respected in the Republic.

A defaulter absconds, and the world is filled with the news; not a word is said about the thousands of men in positions of trust who guard their charge to the last dollar. My experience with newspapers upon both sides of the Atlantic has shown me how incorrect ideas are instilled of the one land in the other by the press. A New York sheet, referring to the meeting of a few hair-brained cranks in Hyde Park, a motley crowd, whose appearance made me feel as Falstaff did about his soldiers, "I'll not march with them through Coventry, that's flat," lays this episode before its readers headed in large type: "A GRAND REPUBLICAN RALLY." And many readers think the Prince of Wales has not the ghost of a chance to succeed his mother.

I wish it were so indeed, and I honor these cranks very much—all real reformers are cranks in their day. Pym, Hampden, Cromwell were, and John Bright himself was a very pronounced one till he brought the nation up to his level; ere he passed away he was a regulation statesman in "good form." But truth compels me to say that the republican rally in Hyde Park was not much of

a rally; it was like the great ball which the Princess Louise wished to give in Ottawa upon court lines of etiquette, and could not. In Canada, society was all in a vulgar trade; there was not enough left to make a ball at all. In like manner, a Socialists' procession marches through the streets in Chicago, probably not an American in the array—a parcel of foreign cranks whose communistic ideas are the natural growth of the unjust laws of their native land, which deny these men the privileges of equal citizenship, and hold them down as inferiors from their birth—and forthwith European papers alarm the timid and well-to-do masses of Europe by picturing this threatened assault upon property as the result of republicanism; the truth being that in no other country are the rights of property held so sacred as in America. Legislation to fix values of anything here, as values of land are fixed in Ireland, for instance, would be denounced from one end of the land to the other. The only true and abiding conservatism is that engendered by republican institutions—conservatism of what is just, what is good—for these no party seeks to destroy.

In like manner the books of travel written by visitors to any land must in their very nature be misleading. What strikes the stranger is not the thousand-and-one matters which are alike to those at home, nor the thousand occurrences which are common to him at home or abroad; it is the one exceptional matter, thing, or event which he notes down at once, and says, "I can work that up—it is so strange." Very true, only it may be just as exceptional, just as strange to the native. The false impression is conveyed to the public, for whom he writes, by implying that it is the common and usual custom or occurrence. Few

travellers know how to arrive at the real every-day life of a people, and yet from this alone is a just estimate of that people to be obtained. As the two divisions get to know each other better, they will understand that in the main human life is very much the same on both sides of the Atlantic. It is after we cross the Mississippi and come to the "great West"—that new region which the hardy pioneer is rapidly bringing into civilization—that life takes on different features. As might be expected, the difference in the press there gives us the best idea of the chasm which still divides the settled State from the unsettled Territory.

When a party of prospectors have found a mineral vein in the West, about the first thing they do after deciding to build a city, is to start a newspaper. With characteristic Western eccentricity this is named the *Laramie Boomerang*, or the *Big Horn Rustler*. Then a press and type are brought in, the least illiterate of the party invests in a table, an arm-chair, and an inkstand, and being already furnished with a revolver, he begins to "run" the paper. As the town grows, competing editors come in, and soon the struggle for existence sets in with an acerbity of feeling not excelled in those poetic

> "Dragons of the prime,
> Who tore each other in their slime."

Specimens of "slime" are carefully collected by European bookmakers and quoted as representative of American journalism. After the rough pioneering has been done, the gentler evidences of white civilization soon manifest themselves. Fine streets lined with handsome buildings and towering churches spring up on the site of the wilderness; and literature takes upon itself a milder form.

Present editors in Western towns which have originated and grown in this way, are men of culture, often graduates from Eastern universities; and these are not the men who pen the articles so largely quoted from by bookmakers. Dickens's amusing representation of the editorial combat in "Pickwick" will keep in memory the fact that a few years ago British editors used inks of concentrated gall and venom.

In periodical literature the child land now excels its mother. In *Harper's Magazine*, the *Century*, *Scribner's*, and the *Cosmopolitan*, the art of editing has joined the arts of printing and engraving, and has surpassed anything before known in the history of periodical literature. These magazines, which for years have been educating the American people in principles of true art and instilling a love of pure literature, have done more than all the rest of the world's periodical publications to raise the artistic standard of printing. Not in America alone, but in England, has their influence been potent for good; and undisguised imitations of these magazines now appear even in Germany, which not many years ago seemed to have a monopoly of good engravers. It is in vain that any English or German magazine can hope to rival its republican compeer; not because the necessary talent and skill do not exist, or at least that it could not be created, but simply because it will not pay to employ it. The American publisher prints a quarter of a million of copies per month. This number has even been exceeded. The expense for art and matter, distributed through this huge edition, is a trifle per copy. What is the poor publisher to do who has not forty thousand subscribers? And this not one shilling magazine has in Britain or Germany.

He yields the race perforce to the republican. More copies of some of these American magazines are sold in Britain than any British monthly publication of equal price. Truly their venture in England is a strange and startling success. Let us note here that as population grows faster in the new than in the old land, surer is it that the American publisher can afford to expend greater sums upon his magazine, which means that the British publications must encounter fiercer warfare than ever. The leading monthlies of severer kind, the *North American*, *Forum*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and others, have acquired a satisfactory and ever increasing European circulation which does much to keep the old lands apprised of the important strides in the intellectual field taking place in the new. Periodicals of high order for the girls and boys of a nation are of vital consequence. The world has not anything comparable to the *Youth's Companion*, of Boston, *St. Nicholas*, or *Harper's Young People*. Every friend to whom I have sent them in Britain has substantially said: "We have nothing like these. Our children watch for their arrival as for a great treat. They are devoured."

It was all very well for the Democracy to supply the monarchies with pork and flour, cheese and provisions, the necessaries of life—a coarse, material triumph this; but what are we to say to this exportation of food for the mind? If Democracy is successfully to invade the higher province and minister to the things of the spirit as well as to those of the body, before it is more than a century old, what is the Monarchy to set forth as that in which it excels? It is, at all events, to take the crumbs which fall from the republican magazine table. That much is

settled, and it is with special pride we note the triumph of Democracy in these branches of art. The thanks of the Republic are due to the editors and proprietors of these publications which have made a successful and I hope a permanent and a profitable invasion of Great Britain. May their circulation never be less on either side of the Atlantic!

American journalists have become noted all over the world, as indeed have Americans generally, for enterprise and energy. American foreign correspondents have revolutionized their profession. Until Stanley was sent into equatorial Africa by the New York *Herald* to find Livingstone, such extraordinary missions were unknown; but English journals quickly followed, and O'Donovan, brave, bright, and young when he fell in the Soudan, was sent by the *Daily News* to Merv. Captain Burnaby unlocked the route to Khiva, and Archibald Forbes and others made foreign battlefields familiar. The *Jeannette* expedition was a newspaper enterprise. The Bengal famine, the condition of Ireland, the Tunisian difficulty, the Burmah dispute, the exploration of Corea, the cholera outbreak of 1892, the true landing-place of Columbus—all these and many other matters have come within the scope of the modern foreign correspondent.

It is interesting in this connection to see how the Anglo-Saxon race leads the world in journalism. Of about forty-two thousand newspapers and periodicals in the world, nearly half are American. Other papers published in English raise the total in that language to more than twenty-five thousand, leaving to the rest of the world —Germany, France, Italy, Spain, India, etc.—only seventeen thousand to divide amongst themselves.

The English language, gauged by the number who speak it, is leaving the rest of the world even more hopelessly in the rear. At the beginning of the century our tongue was spoken by twenty million people, and occupied only fifth place, coming behind even Spain and Russia. It now occupies first place, being spoken by more than a hundred and ten million, whilst French and Spanish have not yet reached the fifties. Since 1801 the English language has advanced from twelve and nine-tenths to twenty-seven and one-tenth aliquot parts of all European languages. No less than one hundred and sixteen millions of people now speak the English language, and year after year the number swells rapidly. Of course there is little question as to the coming universal language. The world is to speak English, think English, and read English. The only question is whether it will be aristocratic or democratic English, British English or American English, and there is not much question about that.

When we recollect the great amount of hard manual work which has been spent by the American people on the subjugation of their vast continent, it is a matter of surprise that literature and the gentle arts generally should also have attained such development. The hewing of wood, clearing of forests, the breaking of prairie lands, railroad building, and canal digging are not conducive to development of the sort of brain which runs into books; and during the early years of the country, when brawn rather than brain was in demand, book-making received scant attention. The change consequent upon the cessation of the struggle with nature in New England was well described by William Cullen Bryant at a publishers' celebration in 1855.

Mr. Bryant said:

"After his (Cotton Mather's) time, in the hundred and fifty years which followed, the procession of American authors was a straggling one ; at present they are a crowd which fairly choke the way ; illustrious historians, able and acute theologians, authors of books of travels, instructive or amusing, clever novelists, brilliant essayists, learned and patient lexicographers. Every bush, I had almost said every buttercup of the field, has its poet; poets start up like the soldiers of Roderick Dhu, from behind every rock, and out of every bank of fern."

An idea of this increasing literary activity may be obtained from these facts: In the twelve years ending in 1841, only 1,115 different works were published in the United States, of which 623 were original, and 492 reprints of foreign works. This was an average of only 93 books annually. In 1853, so great had been the increase in literary production that 733 new works were issued, of which 420 were original American books. In 1880 the total number of books published was 2,235, and in 1891 it has risen to 4,665, including new editions and translations as well as new books. The same year there were published in Britain 5,706 new books and new editions, of which 1,663 were works of fiction, while of the American issues of the same year 1,565 were novels. These figures exhibit the very great popularity of light reading in both countries.

To enumerate the tons of paper used for printing may be considered a curious way of estimating the literature of a nation. Still it has been done, and the result is interesting. About one hundred and seven thousand tons of paper are annually used in the United States, against ninety-five thousand tons in the United Kingdom, and seventy thousand tons in France. Canada, subject and

dependent, contrasts unfavorably with the Republic in every way, but in none more than this. She uses but four thousand tons of paper a year—only about two-fifths of the Republic's ratio to population. The amount annually spent on books and newspapers by the Republic is $90,000,000 (£18,000,000), against $80,000,000 (£16,000,000) spent by Britain.

"Who reads an American book?" That was the question a few years ago. To-day it is reversed, and the question is, Who does not read an American book? and who does not subscribe for and read an American magazine? A glance at the English trade catalogues will show how many American publications are reprinted in Great Britain, for the British publisher does not hesitate to republish any successful American work, as he feels sure of its success in the old home. The works of popular American historians, American poets, and American novelists are all reprinted in England, and are as well known there as at home. Indeed, Longfellow is more widely read in Britain than he is here. Two American lexicographers have contributed to the world two of the best English dictionaries, while the "Century Dictionary" surpasses in extent of information any one yet completed in Britain; and the standard Greek lexicon, published by the University of Oxford, is printed from plates made in New York.

A significant commercial fact, showing the relative demand for books, may be found in the tables of imports and exports published by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department, at Washington. The aggregate value of books exported from the United States in 1891 was $1,847,277, and the books imported the same year from all parts of the world were valued at $4,028,259.

Some idea of the American demand for books may be formed from a few illustrations. The ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," recently completed, has had by far its largest sale in America—the total sale in the Republic being more than one hundred thousand copies. Great Britain itself and all her colonies did not take one-tenth as many.

Let us pause here a moment to try to take in the full significance of such a fact as this. The "Britannica" is the one distinctively national work. One would think it was published surely for Britain; but no, it is not for the parent land, but for the Republic that this treasury of all knowledge is prepared. Its purchasers are not in Old but in New England—ten to one. Thus at every point we stumble, as it were, upon startling proofs that the dear old home is becoming the satellite of the republican giant whose mass is too great to be resisted. Its power of attraction begins to draw the smaller body out of its monarchical orbit into the great sweep of the republican idea—the equality of the citizen.

At the same time, large editions of encyclopædias produced wholly in the United States have been published and sold, among which are "Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia," the "International Cyclopædia," and the "New Cabinet Cyclopædia."

The "American Cyclopædia," published by D. Appleton & Co., New York, has also had an enormous circulation, more than a hundred and twenty thousand sets, of sixteen volumes each, having been sold by subscription, at the average price of a hundred dollars the set, making in the aggregate more than $12,000,000 (£2,400,000). The same firm have printed more than fifty million of "Web-

ster's Spelling Book," and still print and sell a million copies every year. "Picturesque America," a costly work in two large volumes, has also had a phenomenal sale, more than a hundred thousand copies having been disposed of. Mr. Blaine's book, "Twenty Years in Congress," had more than two hundred thousand subscribers, and General Grant's "Personal Memoirs" more than three hundred thousand. The sums realized by each of these writers will exceed $250,000 (£50,000); the latter will probably double that amount, and I have seen an estimate which placed Mrs. Grant's prospective profits at $700,000 (£140,000). Milton was glad to get five pounds for "Paradise Lost." Even Macaulay's celebrated check for ten thousand pounds, received for his "History," dwindles into insignificance compared with the princely compensation awarded to its favorites by the triumphant Democracy.

It is much the same with all standard British publications—all have a larger circulation in the Republic than in the Monarchy. Spencer, Buckle, Tennyson, Lubbock, Huxley, Tyndall, Ruskin, Smiles, Morley, the Arnolds (Matthew and Edwin)—all have larger constituencies in New than in Old England; indeed, Herbert Spencer was discovered and appreciated by American readers, as was also that Scot of Scots, Carlyle, before he was recognized at home.

In view of the fact that a more and more widely extended market has been opened in America for the productions of British and other foreign authors, it is a matter for sincere congratulation that an international copyright act has at length been passed by the Congress of the United States. The disgrace of wholesale appropriation of the literary labors of others, which for a whole

century has attached to the American people, was removed by this act. When it is considered that there is no argument for any copyright for authors at all which is not equally good for the authors of all countries, and that justice cannot be confined to state lines or to national boundaries, it seems strange indeed that this measure of justice has been so long delayed. There is really no middle ground between the doctrine that the productions of the brain should be free to all—which leads us to communism by the shortest road—or that all who use an author's brains should contribute equally to his reward. The measure of justice to foreign authors which the American copyright act of 1891 secures was obtained after a long struggle, which might be termed a campaign of education, in and out of Congress. It was the fruit of a compromise of competing interests, in which the authors, publishers, and the manufacturers secured something at the same time that they yielded something. The foreign authors, while securing copyright here on the condition precedent of having their works produced in the United States, actually attained something never before enjoyed, namely, the right to control the publication of their books, and to reap the royalty accruing therefrom. The act may be regarded as yet rather in the light of an experiment than as a final measure, but the fact of its acceptance successively by six European nations (Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland), which grant copyright privileges to Americans on the same terms as to their own people, is a cheering evidence of progress. Copyright may be expected not only to increase the rewards of writers, but to extend the sentiment of good feeling among nations.

It counts for much more that the knights of the pen of all nations should be good friends one with another, and lovers of the countries where their words are read, than that the knights of the sword should be in accord —for the former produce conditions by their weapon. Those of the sword only act upon conditions in the creation of which they have had no part. Give us the pens of the world working for peace, and the swords may swagger as they will.

A decided influence upon the future of American literature is no doubt to be exerted by the Authors' Club, which already comprises one hundred and fifty of the best known authors. It is not going too far to say that the passage of the International Copyright Act could scarcely have been secured but for the invaluable support given it by this body of writers. The hostile Congressman from the South or West found it difficult to oppose the wishes of the class which had the best right to speak upon the subject, the writers of books, and thus was the last blot upon the escutcheon of the Republic finally erased. We no longer steal the property of others. The spirit of good-fellowship promoted by personal intercourse among the authors, the fact that writers from all parts of the country visiting New York have in the Authors' Club a genial home, are bound to produce unity in the great guild of literature, instead of the cliques into which the literary class is generally broken.

Where many are meritorious, yet there is in every movement of this kind one man to whom most of the credit belongs. I am sure that the only objection to my giving that man in this case his just meed of praise

will come from the man himself. All his colleagues will rejoice. This much I know about the judgment of all these workers. That the authors of America were brought together in loving accord, is chiefly due to Charles De Kay. If I were to mention another name, I should have to mention several, and therefore refrain.

A curious illustration of the impinging of American books upon the old land is seen in English discussions of and protests against the American system of spelling, or, as we should say, against the American reforms in spelling. So many books are now printed upon this side, and the supply required for Britain struck off from the same plates, and sent there for the British publisher simply to put the covers and his imprint upon, that American spelling is invading the land. A recent spicy correspondence in the *London Times* ended by the British publisher who is held guilty of this practice of receiving his books from this side stating that he did not think it probable that seventy millions of English-speaking people on the American continent were to be ruled by thirty-seven millions in Britain very long, even in regard to the language. This publisher is quite right, and fully justified by the rule of Horace, who told his generation that it was the province of custom to determine what was correct in language. The recent "Century Dictionary" has made some valuable changes, and a still newer dictionary now being made goes a step further, I am told. It spells sulphur, for example, s-u-l-f-u-r. Any man who gets rid of a "ph" performs a service to the English-speaking race. Sulfur let it be, dear old motherland to the contrary notwithstanding. Most dear old mothers have occasion to stand aghast with uplifted

hands at their daughters, but the world must move on in spite of the old ladies' protestations.

Libraries have multiplied very rapidly. Fifty years ago there were few large collections of books in America, except in the universities and collegiate institutions. Of other libraries prior to 1820 only ten are enumerated, and these were mostly of inferior grade. Since that period libraries have sprung into being in nearly every township or village. They dot the country almost as thickly as the public schools; while State libraries have been formed in every territorial division of the Union.

The spirit of local patriotism which characterizes equally the native American and the new settler, and which leads each to think that the particular spot of God's earth on which he lives is the best, is a spirit which prompts numerous great public works. The dwellers in a new settlement are animated by an amazing energy and spirit of self-sacrifice in matters concerning their "city." Public works of all kinds are undertaken with feverish eagerness. Men subscribe money for the adornment and improvement of their town as readily as they would for their particular home. One is constantly surprised to find all the evidences of advanced civilization in cities of which the foundations were laid but yesterday. Libraries, schools, club-houses, churches, theatres, court-houses, bridges, of the most elegant designs, are found in towns which had no existence a few years ago. Take St. Paul, Minnesota, as an example. This young and enterprising city has no less than three public libraries—the State library, with seventeen thousand volumes; the Historical Society's library and museum, with twenty-six thousand volumes; and the Free Public library, with eighteen thou-

sand volumes, to which additions are being constantly made.

The public libraries in the United States, as reported to the Bureau of Education in 1886, contained 20,622,076 volumes, and the list, though embracing no less than 5,338 libraries, is by no means complete, the contents of many collections not being reported.

It is estimated that there are twenty-three thousand school libraries in America, containing forty-five million books—twelve million more than all the public libraries of Europe combined. Other educational establishments increase this number by two and a half million volumes; and thirty-eight State libraries contribute over a million more. The Congressional library, the Astor, the Boston Public, the Philadelphia, the various mercantile libraries, the Watkinson Reference at Hartford, and many others will raise the grand total to much more than sixty million volumes, a book, almost, for every man, woman, and child in the United States. More than four hundred libraries contain ten thousand volumes or more each; seventeen contain more than a hundred thousand volumes each, and two contain over four hundred thousand volumes each. Even this statement but feebly shadows forth the truth as to the books and periodicals of the country as compared with those of other lands, for the American is not only a reader, but he is above all other men a buyer of books. Circulating libraries are not so generally used as in Europe. It is when you enter the home of the American farmer or artisan that you are struck with the number of books and magazines you see—the two or three shelves and often far greater number filled with them—all of which are his own, except perhaps the few stray

borrowed volumes which most collections contain, and which are conscientiously counted as belonging to another, to be returned some day; but somehow that some day seldom arrives. The universal propensity of the American, young and old, for reading and writing, has sometimes seemed to me to lend countenance to Dogberry's dictum: "God hath blessed you with a good name; to be a well-favored man is the gift of fortune; but to read and write comes by nature." These do seem to be part of the nature of the American.

In this country, more than in any other, men of means have taken a just pride in founding and endowing free libraries for the use of the people. And it is a cheering fact that many of these benefactions have been bestowed and the institutions organized in the lifetime of the generous and public-spirited donors. In what other direction could a more widely useful and permanent beneficence be exercised than in building up and dedicating to popular use an institution for the promotion of public intelligence? Free public libraries rank with the public press among the foremost agencies in the march of civilization.

Triumphant Democracy is triumphant in nothing more than in this, that her members are readers and buyers of books and reading matter beyond the members of any government of a class, but in this particular each system is only seen to be true to its nature. The monarchist boasts more bayonets, the republican more books. "The paper bullet of the brain" is the moral dynamite of triumphant Democracy—the only dynamite which the peaceful and law-abiding republican ever has occasion, or which he can be induced, to use.

CHAPTER XI

ART—PAINTING AND SCULPTURE

"Art, in fact, is the effort of man to express the ideas which Nature suggests to him of a power above Nature, whether that power be within the recesses of his own being, or in the Great First Cause of which Nature, like himself, is but the effect."—BULWER.

IF side by side with progress in material things there was not found corresponding progress in the higher things of the spirit, there would be but little cause for congratulation among the citizens of the Republic. If there was not spreading among the masses of the people along with their material blessings a love of the beautiful; if with their comforts there did not come the love of music—if, in short, "Art," using the term in its broadest sense, did not shed everywhere around its elevating influence—we should have little reason to be proud or hopeful of our country, much less to extol it. To reach her proper position and play her part among the nations, she must not only be the wealthiest country in the world, but richest in the diffusion of refinement and culture among the people. It is not enough that the American workman should be in receipt of the highest wages and enjoy the best living. He should also be most appreciative of all the refinements of life, and his habits should be better than those of his fellows in other lands. His home must be more artistic, its interior in better taste, its furniture finer, its sanitary

arrangements more perfect, and especially must it be to a greater degree than that of any corresponding class the home of music. There must be more and better books, engravings, and pictures, even in the humblest dwelling, compared with the workman's home in other lands. We must see there, if nothing else, at least the picture from the illustrated newspaper, or the chromo neatly framed, the flower pot on the window sill, the melodeon, or even the piano, and at every point the cheering evidence of a budding taste for better, finer, more artistic surroundings. The chromo on the wall, the flower pot on the window sill of the toiler's home, mean much more for the Republic than the picture gallery or the conservatory of the city home of the millionnaire. The world has long considered political rights and government the province of the few. So also has it considered art as beyond the multitude. In the political field the Republic has proclaimed a new gospel, the right of every citizen to an equal share in the government. It is her mission also, we fully believe, to teach the nations that art should likewise be universal; not the luxury of the few but the heritage of the whole people. There are many proofs that good progress is now being made in this direction. The more general diffusion of art in every department is a marked and gratifying movement of our time. Art in the new land had naturally a feeble beginning.

In 1826 the National Academy of Design was organized in New York, under the presidency of Samuel F. B. Morse, as the successor of the American Academy of Fine Arts, which died after the fire of the same year had destroyed its art collection. Similar institutions had been founded early in Philadelphia and in Boston, but the

National Academy has always exercised a paramount influence in the development of American art. It remains to-day the principal art society, although much in need of enlarged and better galleries situated farther up-town.

About ten years later the American Art Union, an incorporated institution for the distribution, by lot, of works of art, came into existence, and during more than a decade aided much in educating the people, and in bringing into notice many artists who might otherwise have found it difficult to win recognition. But this gain was loss; the influence of the lottery system must have transcended a hundred-fold any possible advantage gained through it by art. Happily, the day for such gambling is over, but we meet with the evil still, where one would least expect it. There is a moral in the story of the poor parishioner, who regretted to his minister that he could not pay his quarter's pew rent.

"Been gambling in stocks, I suppose," said the minister, testily. "No, sir, not that." "Well, speculating in oil, then." "No, sir; I went to your church fair, sir, and was roped into so many lotteries."

Several small public galleries, like those of the Athenæum in Boston, and of the Historical Society in New York, and a few private collections were found in different parts of the country, which exercised a considerable influence in raising the standard of popular taste. People began to buy pictures, and, as was natural, began by buying very poor pictures. European dealers, taking advantage of the comparative ignorance of the country in art matters, flooded the principal cities with alleged examples of the old masters, which found a ready sale forty or fifty years ago, but which gradually disappeared as their worth-

lessness was understood; and now it would be difficult to find one of these early art treasures of America in any respectable house, unless it may have been preserved among the rubbish of the garret. The experience thus gained was of the utmost value. The American, with his quick perception, soon learned to distinguish between the good and the bad, and though his taste may in some cases seem a little "loud" to the European connoisseur, he seldom buys anything which is absolutely worthless. He is recognized now in the European markets as one of the shrewdest as well as one of the most liberal buyers. Throughout the world, whenever art treasures come under the hammer, the American is found in competition with nobles, and even with crowned heads, and he is no mean competitor, for he is not afraid to spend his dollars where he is sure of getting his money's worth. Thus, during the past few decades there has been a constant flow of works of art to the United States. There is no city of importance in the country which has not its public gallery of painting and sculpture, as well as many private collections in the houses of its citizens. These latter are often exhibited as loan collections, and exert a most beneficial influence in creating a taste for art.

The movement of modern French paintings to this country began early in the seventies, and was mainly due to the influence of William M. Hunt, of Boston, who had studied under Couture and Millet, and had become deeply impressed with the work that these artists and their great contemporaries were doing. He saw that these were landscapes and figures that were sure to live, and to acquire more and more value as their superior qualities became better known. He returned to Boston full of

enthusiasm over the Barbizon school, as it came to be called, taking its name from the little village on the edge of the Fontainebleau Forest where these artists, Millet, Rousseau, Diaz, Dupré, and others had their studios. He imparted some of his enthusiasm to wealthy Boston amateurs, who began to import their paintings. New York was quick to appreciate their beauty, and soon the collectors of the two cities vied with each other in the attempt to secure choice examples of the work of these great painters and those associated with them, such as Corot, Daubigny, and Troyon.

From that time until now the New World has been steadily transferring to the galleries of its collectors the greatest paintings produced by this the most famous school of artists of the century. The artists, the dealers, and the wealthy amateurs well knew the extent to which the best modern works of the French school were being imported to the private galleries of the United States. But the great public was hardly aware of the number and the value of these paintings until the Morgan and the Seney collections were thrown upon the market a few years ago. New York's private galleries, it was suddenly discovered, were filled with them, and the further fact was made manifest that the Shaw, Brimmer, Wigglesworth, and other Boston galleries contained some of the finest examples of the Barbizon school. It is estimated by a good judge, who is thoroughly conversant with the private galleries, not only on the seaboard but in Detroit, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other cities, that modern French art is better represented in the United States than it is in any country but France to-day. There are more than fifty examples of Meissonier alone

in this country. And the eagerness of collectors to possess these great works, and their willingness to pay high prices for them, were well illustrated when Judge Hilton bought Meissonier's "1807" at the Stewart sale for $66,000. There is no doubt but that a loan collection of a hundred modern French paintings could be made in this country which could not be matched for quality or for commercial value anywhere else in the world, France alone excepted.

The lesson, my readers, of all this is not far to seek. It shows how the New is absorbing the art treasures of the Old World. When wealth and taste go hand-in-hand, such a movement, once begun, is bound to continue. Twenty-five years hence Frenchmen may have to visit the galleries of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, and St. Paul in order to study the work of their own Fontainebleau school. None of these paintings return to France. When once here they are here for all time. This or that collection may be brought under the hammer, but there are always a number of eager American purchasers with longer purses than the Frenchmen, and the result is that the pictures merely change their American homes. Some of the best have gone in recent years to cities on the Great Lakes or in the Ohio Valley, and the day is not far distant when the galleries of these inland cities will rival those of the Atlantic seaboard in the number of their artistic treasures.

Along with this extraordinary influx of modern French paintings has come a goodly number of examples of the German school, while contemporaneous Spanish and Italian painters are fairly well represented. For the works of the

British school as a whole, however, the American public seems as yet to have little desire, although the collection of old English masters recently exhibited in the Gallery of Fine Arts, New York, and other collections, prove that at last our connoisseurs, American and Canadian, are beginning to appreciate British art. The highest examples of this art of the present period were admirably illustrated a few years ago by an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art of G. F. Watts's paintings—portraits and classical and allegorical works. These pictures aroused the admiration of amateurs.

Since the first edition of this book appeared, fully a score of old masters of the Dutch, Flemish, and English schools have made their way to this country; and this may be the vanguard of a still greater number which fifty years hence will enrich our public and private galleries. There are at present eight fine examples of Rembrandt, including "The Gilder," "The Burgomaster," and portraits of his wife and others, in New York; with works also by Hals, Van Dyck, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Constable, not to mention those by painters of less renown of the same schools. These are paintings which have come into the market in England and on the Continent when private collections were dispersed, and there seems no reason why the movement westward of the works of the classical period in Italian, as well as in Dutch, Spanish, Flemish, and English art, should not continue. Our amateurs can never hope to see in New York or Chicago a collection rivalling that of the Louvre, or the Uffizi, or the National Gallery in London. These government collections are out of reach even of the American and his check-book. But from the private galleries there

will come, now and then, some fine work to find its permanent home in the new country, until at last we shall have a representative, if not a large, collection.

The foreign reader must not infer from what is said of the American fondness for the French school of art that the Americans have no painters of their own. They have hundreds of wonderfully clever painters who have mastered the technique, many having acquired their proficiency in the studios of the French masters. Sargent and Whistler are men whose genius is recognized in Paris and London as well as in America. Other names equally, or almost equally, famous, who, in the present generation, have won a high and enviable place, will occur to the reader. While we have not yet produced a Rousseau or a Daubigny, our group of landscape painters are doing admirable work—work that will live. In figure pictures and *genre* our painters are rapidly approaching the French. The average of our portrait painting is reputed to be as high as the English standard. If there is a branch in which American painters are weak, it is in the historical, allegorical, and imaginative. This was a field in which West and Allston excelled. The note of their time, however, was romantic, and they felt its influence and echoed it. The watchword of art at the present day is "truth to nature." By and by a reaction will set in, and the imagination will be given freer play.

Meanwhile much is being done to encourage American artists. The National Academy exhibitions have improved greatly in the last few years; the Society of American Artists exerts a stimulative influence; throughout the West art is gaining the attention of the men who since the war have been bringing the continent into subjection;

travelling scholarships and prizes have been generously established by which promising young men are sent abroad for a year's study; public galleries are becoming richer each year in works well worthy of attention; and in many other ways native art is being fostered. Several collections of paintings already prove what fine examples in every branch of art can be gathered among the works of native painters, if patience and taste and a patriotic pride in the achievements of one's fellow-countrymen govern the selection. The gift of one million dollars, netting fifty thousand dollars per annum, made to the Pittsburgh Art Gallery, is conditioned upon at least six pictures by American artists being purchased each successive year, to be displayed in chronological order. If the wishes of the donor be properly carried out by the Art Committee, we shall in time have a collection of great historical value as showing the development of the national school of painting.

The Fine Arts Society of New York deserves notice. In the whole history of artistic progress in the Republic we know of nothing to compare with this in several of its features. The Society is formed by a consolidation of the Architectural League, the Society of American Artists, and the Art Students' League. Each of these had a small fund, and was able to contribute its third to a capital of fifty thousand dollars. Upon this slender financial basis, but strong in faith and ability, the newly elected officers began their work, which in less than a year has culminated in the recent opening of the Fine Arts Building in Fifty-seventh Street, in which there have already been held three notable exhibitions, each among the best of its kind. The society is teaching six hundred and

forty students. The total spent upon the property is less than $500,000, which causes every experienced visitor to inquire how so much could have been done with so little. The secret is, that it has been a labor of love throughout. The organizers and all the officers have labored without salary, the architect designed the building without compensation, and such a building as reflects credit upon Mr. Hardenbergh; the contractors worked without profit; and at the head of the whole matter was an irrepressible man, whose name deserves to be recorded in the history of art progress in America. Knowing how greatly we shall incur his displeasure, we nevertheless venture to write it down in full—Howard Russell Butler. We know of no undertaking that shows the character of the American more thoroughly than this—such effort, enthusiasm, organizing power, general ability, and self-devotion. No wonder that such qualities attracted and held the attention and drew forth the support of our most important patrons of art. The new gallery, connected with the rear of the main building, is called the George W. Vanderbilt Gallery, and justly so, for he it was who surprised the society by conferring upon it this invaluable gift.

Would that my conscience would permit me to leave the subject of American painting without an expression of heartfelt regret that this new Art Society is far too much French—Frenchy. The recent exhibition, in the words of a true patron of art, "was almost as bad as the Salon—the subjects as a rule unworthy, the landscapes blurred and sketchy, and the nude vulgar." One consolation remains. These young Frenchy Americans are to be taught another needed lesson. The picture lover and the

picture buyer, offended at such a display, will evince his displeasure by showing the value, or rather the no-value, he places upon works which attempt thus to prostitute art to vulgar and unholy ends. If art is to devote itself to the perpetuation of aught but what is noble and pure, may we never be cursed by possessing it. Thank the fates, American literature so far is pure.

America has developed within the past half-century a school of sculpture which has won recognition both at home and abroad, though a visit to the national capital and to the public squares of some of the larger cities would scarcely induce such an opinion. Many of her sculptors have been educated under Italian influences, but have drawn their inspiration rather from the antique than the modern Italian school. Some who stand foremost at home to-day have not enjoyed the benefit, or disadvantage perhaps, of foreign instruction, and their works, consequently, possess more of the flavor of the soil, so to speak, than do those which have been executed in strict accordance with the academic rules transmitted from antiquity. It is possible that these may develop in time into a purely American school of sculpture, which shall be recognized and take its place as such in the art history of the world.

CHAPTER XII

MUSIC

"Of all the arts, great Music is the art
To raise the soul above all earthly storms.
O heavenly music, sacred tongue of God,
I hear thee calling to me, and I come."

—CONFUCIUS.

"MUSIC, heavenly maid," early visited America from abroad, but finding no congenial abiding place among the sons of toil who were battling with the wilderness, returned to quieter scenes, to await the cessation of the struggle. She has now taken up her permanent abode in the Republic, and finds herself at home even in the far West, among the roughest scenes the continent can show.

The history of music in America is a record of spirited enterprises and discouraging failures alternating with almost rhythmic regularity. Artists of the first order, like Malibran, made a temporary success even sixty years ago; but it is only recently that regular opera has been established in any American city. Some of the most successful performances took place in New York half a century ago; yet at periods it was almost impossible to get together half a dozen fiddles. A German who visited New York in 1828 wrote:

"The orchestras are very bad indeed, as bad as it is possible to imagine, and incomplete. Sometimes they have two clarionets,

which is a great deal: sometimes there is only one first instrument. Of bassoons, oboes, trumpets, and kettledrums, one never sees a sight. However, once in a while a first bassoon is employed. Only one oboist exists in North America, and he is said to live in Baltimore."

This was three years after Garcia's Italian opera appeared in New York, and several amateur musical clubs had long been in existence.

A wonderful change has taken place since then in orchestral music in the United States. There is scarcely an important city in which a good orchestra cannot be gathered together. There are but few permanent orchestras in Europe, and until recently not one of these was in Great Britain; though now the Crystal Palace Company of London has a permanent organization for concerts. The Republic maintains three, that of Boston having been first organized by Colonel Henry L. Higginson, who for many years maintained it at his own expense, until some years ago it reached such perfection that it has only to announce its appearance in any part of the United States to find tickets sold for every seat. It is now self-sustaining, perhaps the only case of the kind in the world, for orchestras are expensive luxuries. Chicago is entitled to second place. With characteristic audacity, a few of its leading citizens captured the foremost conductor from New York City, Theodore Thomas, and established the permanent orchestra of Chicago, with him at its head. This was rather more than the metropolis was disposed to stand, and a few of its citizens in like manner enabled the young and talented Damrosch to establish the Symphony Orchestra of New York. The result of keeping a trained body of musicians exclusively under one conductor, rehears-

ing every morning, and devoting themselves exclusively to the best music, is seen in these three organizations. The standard has been raised, a most healthful rivalry exists between the different orchestras, and it is safe to say that these three organizations cannot be excelled by any three in Europe. What Richter in London accomplishes, even when compelled to engage musicians temporarily for his orchestra, incontestably proves his high powers and abilities as a musical director. The same may be said of Mr. Seidl in New York, who under similar unfortunate conditions yet manages to produce highly creditable results from his orchestra; but it is impossible that the high standard of the permanent organizations, including in these the Philharmonic Society of New York, which is our oldest orchestra and of the best quality, can be reached by any body of men gathered from all quarters to play only at certain seasons.

All of the three permanent orchestras will be heard at Chicago during the World's Fair, and the emulation of this great musical festival ought to stimulate American composers to their highest achievements. Native composers, Professor Paine, Dudley Buck, Mr. McDowell, and others, have done some admirable work, and now Mr. Reginald De Koven has written a comic opera, "Robin Hood," which, for originality of treatment and wealth of melodic invention, is entitled to rank with the works of Sir Arthur Sullivan. There is no good reason why the coming years should not see the brief list of compositions by American composers, orchestral, operatic, and choral, greatly enlarged.

An indisputable proof of the growth of the love of art in the dramatic and musical forms, and also in painting, is

found in the fact that the harvest of artists is no longer reaped in the old lands but in the new. Success in Europe is now valued greatly if not chiefly for the rewards it is certain to bring in the Republic. The artist practises in the Old, but is rewarded in the New World. Mr. Irving would hesitate long before he set "Henry the Eighth" for his own country, as the publishers of the Encyclopædia Britannica would hesitate to undertake that work for the British market only. He is justified in spending thousands upon it at home because he is sure of appreciation in the larger branch of the race. Paderewski receives his hundred pounds in Europe for each performance. At every recital in the Music Hall here he has a thousand pounds, rivalling in his receipts even the divine Patti. It is the same in greater or less degree with the De Reszke brothers, with Lehmann, and with all supremely great artists.

It follows as a consequence that the opera houses, music halls, and theatres are superior to those of Europe. Of course something of this is to be attributed to the fact that these are the latest. In the all-important point of ventilation there is no comparison. It is the exception in Europe to find a place of public amusement in which proper attention has been paid to this feature. In acoustics, artistic construction, appointments, conveniences, entrances and exits, the newer structures here show marked superiority. The amounts paid by Americans for amusements are enormous. If the American works hard, he shows equal energy in his enjoyments. Music and the drama have in him their most liberal patron.

The Republic, also, is building up great musical schools where her gifted sons and daughters can receive as high musical instruction as in any of the foreign conservatories.

The National Conservatory of Music, in New York, has for its presiding genius Antonin Dvorák, the great Bohemian composer, and the Scharwenka Conservatory, of the same city, is controlled by Xaver Scharwenka. The metropolis, too, has other music schools; Boston its New England Conservatory; and Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, and other cities, institutions of which any country may be proud. Sooner or later these schools will develop a national music, and perhaps a musical drama in the vernacular, for it is impossible that so numerous and so rich a people, and one so universally fond of music, should long remain without some outward expression of its own feelings in its own language. But even if the operas of the future must be for a time the work of foreigners, let them be presented on the American stage in English—or must we not begin to call it the American language?

It is a noteworthy evidence of the position the Republic is rapidly acquiring in music that it is here many great works are performed for the first time. The citizens of New York heard Wagner's "Trilogy" and most of his great works several years before they were given even in London. Many important compositions are constantly being performed in New York before they are given in Great Britain.

In my yearly visits to London it has impressed me much to hear even the foremost musicians envying the privileges accorded to the citizens of New York in these musical matters, and only venturing to hope that at an early day London will be abreast of the younger metropolis.

In oratorio music the United States have naturally

been compelled to follow the motherland, which is the home of the oratorio. Until recently we had no chorus which could rank with the most noted choruses in Britain. Especially in enunciation they were far behind. The Handel and Haydn Society of Boston and the Oratorio Society of New York now compare favorably with any similar choruses in Europe. We have the high authority of Von Bülow that the latter is a chorus of virtuosos. Our new halls for music are giving the oratorio societies at last proper facilities to show their powers. The result has recently been seen in crowded houses and in calls for the repetition of many performances. The oratorio is now firmly rooted in the United States. Many of the Western cities have creditable oratorio societies. The performance of the "Messiah" during Christmas week has become of the nature of a religious ceremony throughout the United States, and, as a rule, in all the cities where it is performed hundreds are turned away who cannot obtain admission. The only obstacle to the oratorio becoming with us, as it is in Britain, a recognized instrument for the expression of genuine religious feeling, apart from creed or dogma or anything of a theological nature, is the influence of the Germanic orchestral musician. The oratorio, as a religious composition, is exclusively English, and the Germanic musicians cannot understand or feel that it is anything but so many musical notes. They play it as they do Wagner, and drown the human voice. We see here the influence of Wagner, who subordinates the voice to the orchestra. This must all be changed, or we shall lose oratorio music entirely. There are occasions upon which even the best of orchestras is employed to modestly accompany, not to over-

whelm; and an oratorio performance is one of these occasions.

Chamber music has also received a fresh impetus, and the number of excellent quartets in the country is surprising. More are springing up in various cities every season.

It is in the opera, however, that the greatest advance has been made, and the credit of this belongs wholly to Dr. Damrosch, the father of the present conductor. He induced the owners of the opera house to permit him to introduce a series of Wagner performances in German. The very best artists were obtained, and for six seasons the works of that extraordinary genius revolutionized the musical taste of the country. The American is now a disciple of Wagner. Other masters are tolerated, one or two perhaps enjoyed; Wagner alone is worshipped. It is safe to say that the eight seasons of grand opera—the first and last in Italian, and the six intermediary in the German language—have been, next to the influence of Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, the greatest educational influence in music that America has ever experienced. The standards that prevailed before and for nearly twenty years after the civil war were swept away, and new ones have taken their place. The old music of Bellini, Donizetti, and Rossini—much of it sweet and charming to the ear—has had to give way before the triumphant advance of the dramatic Siegfried of the Wagner music-drama. The partial destruction by fire of the Metropolitan Opera House brought this great educational work to an end for a season, but the men who have so generously supported this enterprise have already ordered its prompt restoration. New York is to

have grand opera, but the goal for which they ought to strive is its production in English.

Just as the great painters of the Old World find their way to America, so do the great singers of France, Germany, Italy, and England. America draws to herself all the world's great singers, actors, and musicians, and she will continue to do so, until she develops a race of artists as great as those of the Old World. Vogl, Schott, Materna, Nilsson, Sembrich, Brandt, Fischer, Reichmann, Niemann, Patti, Von Bülow, Paderewski, Tschaikowsky, Rubinstein, Irving, Terry, Salvini, Duse, Bernhardt—all are lured here by the wealth which the New World pours into their laps in return for the æsthetic pleasure which their finished art affords.

People of the East have little idea how generally music is cultivated in the great West. Every city and town has its choral organization of some kind, and the larger places, which not many years ago were prairies, have their local orchestras as well. Nothing shows the growth in æsthetic culture of the West so well as the rapidity with which opera houses, theatres, and public halls are being erected.

For instance, according to the Eleventh Census, Duluth, Minnesota, has three theatres, one seating 1,600, one 800, and one 600 people. There are also three halls, with an aggregate seating capacity of 2,000. The population in 1890 was 33,115. As, however, in 1880 the population was but 838, it is presumed that these theatres have all been erected in the past ten years.

Butte City, Montana, had only 3,363 population i 1880. In 1890 it had 10,723 population, two theatr and three halls, with an aggregate seating capacity of 4,5

Again, Cheyenne, Wyoming, had a population of 3,456 in 1880. In 1890 this had increased to 11,690, with one theatre, seating 800 people, and two halls, seating 1,000.

Twelve years ago Dallas, Texas, had 10,358 population. In 1890 it had 38,067, with eight theatres, seating 15,000 people, and ten halls, seating 10,000.

The population of El Paso, Texas, was only 736 in 1880. Ten years later it had 10,338 population, with two theatres, seating 1,000 people, and one hall, seating 2,000.

Fort Worth, in the same State, has jumped from a population of 6,663 in 1880 to 23,076 in 1890, and has in the meantime built four theatres and four halls.

Helena, Montana, with a population of 13,834 has a theatre and a hall, each seating 1,200 people; whereas in 1880 there were only 3,624 people in the city.

Joliet, Illinois, about doubled her population from 1880 to 1890, having 23,264 at the last census; and in that time she built a theatre seating 1,000 people, and increased her halls from five, with a seating capacity of 2,200, to sixteen, with a capacity of 10,000.

In 1880, Pueblo, Colorado, had only 3,217 population. In 1890 this had leaped to 24,558, and three theatres had been built.

Seattle, Washington, had a population of only 3,533 in 1880. In 1890 this had grown to 42,837, and four theatres, seating 5,000 people, and ten halls, seating 10,000, had been built.

Spokane shows a similar growth. Her population in 1880 was 350; in 1890, 19,922. In the interval there were erected four theatres, seating 4,000 people, and four halls, seating 12,000.

Finally, Topeka, Kansas, with a population of 15,452, had in 1880 one theatre and one hall, each seating 600. Now, with a population of 31,007, she has three theatres, seating 3,000, and eight halls, seating 4,500.

Broad and general has been the diffusion of musical culture during the past decade throughout the far West, in towns and cities which a comparatively short time ago were trackless wildernesses. The progress of the nation in this art will be one of the disclosures of the World's Fair in Chicago. Fifteen Western and twenty Eastern choral organizations have been invited to participate in the grand choruses of jubilation—those of Ann Arbor, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Des Moines, Detroit, Indianapolis, Louisville, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Omaha, Pittsburgh, St. Paul, and St. Louis in the West; and those of Baltimore, Berkshire County (Massachusetts), Boston (Handel and Haydn), Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hartford, Middletown, Willimantic, Hampden County, Montreal, Newark, New York (Oratorio Society), Portland, Philadelphia, Providence, Reading, Richmond, Toronto, Washington, and Worcester, in the East. Other special musical societies are invited, but these organizations will give the great works of Handel, Haydn, and Bach. It cannot be doubted that these masterpieces will be finely sung under Mr. Theodore Thomas's leadership.

If Britain be still first in oratorio and vocal song, America leads the parent land in orchestral music. Indeed, competent judges who have heard all the great orchestras in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and elsewhere, report that our permanent orchestras are already finer in some respects than those in Europe.

Thus we see that the material progress of the Republic is not the only progress made during the triumphant march of Democracy. In art and in music the nation is advancing with a rapidity which belies the assertion that the tendency of Democracy is to materialize a people and give it over to sordid thoughts; that the unrestrained exercise of personal liberty ends only in the accumulation of dollars. Republicanism does not withhold from life the sweetness and light which mainly make it worth living. Hard, unremitting toil quickly seeks appropriate relaxation. The history of music and art in America is in miniature their history throughout the world. First came struggles with nature—hard-fought battles, with corresponding adaptation of temperament. Then with victory came leisure, and human nature was moulded into harmony with its milder conditions; and then, as Dryden says:

"At last divine Cecilia came,
Inventress of the vocal frame;
The sweet enthusiast, from her sacred store,
Enlarged the former narrow bounds,
And added length to solemn sounds,
With nature's mother-wit, and arts unknown before."

Unless the greatest and best of the race are wholly at fault in their estimate of the influence exerted upon men by art and music, we may accept the taste for these with which the Democracy can safely be credited, as an augury of promise. Life in the Republic is being rapidly refined —the race for wealth ceases to be so alluring. Ostentation in dress or living is "bad form." In due time fashion may decree that its devotees must be neither loud nor extravagant. Music and art create the taste for the most refined, not for the coarse expression of ourselves in our

manners, dress, and surroundings. It is certain that in love of art and music the Republic even to-day is not behind the older lands, and evidence is not wanting that art in all its forms is spreading its benign influence more and more, not only among the few but among the common people, who form the national life of the Republic.

CHAPTER XIII

ARCHITECTURE

"Our fathers next, in Architecture skill'd,
Cities for use and forts for safety build.
Then palaces and lofty domes arose;
These for devotion, and for pleasure those."

—BLACKMORE.

UNTIL recent years, American architecture might have been considered almost non-existent. The straightforward and refined style of our Colonial era, derived, it is true, from English prototypes, but thoroughly nationalized by its adaptation to our special needs, gave place early in this century to the affected classicism of the "Greek Revival." The best products of this changed fashion, like the Capitol at Washington, were creditable and worthy buildings, but they were the rare exception amid a waste of inferior work. Later on, an equally affected and ill-understood Gothic prevailed over the Greek style, with results even more disastrous to the cause of good design. During the second and third quarters of this century, the American people were too much absorbed with burning political questions, and with the industrial and agricultural upbuilding of the country, to pay much attention to æsthetic matters; and architecture suffered with her sister arts from this neglect. Our national taste was raw and undeveloped, our civilization provincial. Few Americans rec-

ognized a good building when they saw it, and what was meretricious, showy, bizarre, elaborate, and pretentious was more likely to be admired than simple refinement and dignity of design. What passed for architecture among us was to true art as doggerel is to poetry. With some few and notable exceptions, our architects were destitute of artistic training, and deplorably ignorant of the historic traditions which they affected to despise. Our buildings were generally poor alike in design and execution; and the great fires of Chicago and Boston in 1871 and 1872 were rendered possible, and even to be expected, from the flimsy and unscientific construction then universally prevalent. Galvanized iron and sanded woodwork, counterfeiting freestone, were rampant, with many other like abominations. While the country was full of magnificent building materials, those only considered worthy of general use were granite and brown-stone, cast-iron and pressed brick. The only fire-proof structures were the Federal buildings in the larger cities.

The arts allied to architecture hardly existed among us. Carving in wood and stone was of the most commonplace description. We had no mosaic-workers, nor could we produce any but the simplest decorative metal work; while all our stained glass was imported. It was a period of Philistine taste and triumphant sham.

From the vantage-ground of our present attainments we look back upon those times with a smile, as to the days of our childhood. The last twenty years have witnessed a revolution in all that pertains to the builder's art. The proportion of graduates of architectural schools among our younger architects is rapidly increasing, and their work displays a corresponding improvement in taste,

and enlargement of resource in design. While much that is vulgar, crude, and pretentious is still produced by inferior men, especially in communities more remote from the influence of this æsthetic revolution, the average of really good work is vastly superior, both in quantity and quality, to that of twenty, or even ten, years ago. The new cities of the West—Seattle, Tacoma, Denver, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Kansas City, and others—have been fortunate in their architects, and possess many admirable structures.

Our methods of construction have been revolutionized. The magnificent resources of our continent in building materials are now being adequately developed and used. In response to architectural demands, brick has assumed a Protean variety of forms, shapes, and colors. Terra-cotta, almost unknown to our architects a few years ago, has come into universal favor, and in quality and finish is made to rival the best old Italian work. In the matter of fireproof construction, the United States, which formerly lagged behind all European nations, now leads the van with improved methods and materials. We have contributed our share to the science of building the "slow-burning system" of factory construction. The architects of Chicago have given us the system of isolated proportional foundations and of steel-frame construction for tall structures, with masonry walls as a mere filling-in. New York architects first attacked and solved the problem of many-storied office-buildings, and of the planning and construction of large and splendid apartment houses. These advances in constructive science have attracted the attention and praise of foreign architects. Four winners of English architectural travelling scholarships in the Royal

Academy and the Royal Institute of British Architects have devoted their prizes to travel in the United States, and to the study of American construction and design. Our more important building operations are carried on with a systematic rapidity and a thoroughness of organization simply astonishing. The vast "Auditorium" in Chicago was completed in twenty months from the breaking of the ground. The Madison Square Garden in New York—an enormous building, 200 × 700 feet, comprising an amphitheatre, concert-hall and theatre—was opened to the public in less than ten months after the signing of the contract for its erection. The extraordinary rapidity with which the Columbian Fair buildings at Chicago have been pushed to completion is a phenomenon which the Old World may vainly seek to parallel.

Not less have the arts of decoration benefited by the advance in public taste. Indeed, it is probably true that we have improved more rapidly in the decorative detail than in the general composition of our architectural designs. A whole category of art-industries has been called into being among us within fifteen years. Good carving in stone is now as abundant as it was rare in former days. Our metal-workers produce hand-forged grilles and decorative bronze-work that rival the best productions of the Italian and German Renaissance. Our most accomplished artists bestow their talent upon decorations which were formerly entrusted to common artisans. The best American stained glass compares in its splendor of color favorably with the most famous windows of the middle ages; while mosaic, inlay, wood-carving, wall-hangings, and other kinds of artistic handiwork are produced by American manufacturers, and from designs by our own artists, quite

equal to contemporary work of the same class abroad. The change in all departments of architectural activity amounts to an artistic revival of that art. It is not in material development alone that the nation has marched with rapid strides. In the artistic domain the progress made is thought by many to have been even more wonderful.

The proximate causes of this remarkable movement are not far to seek. The peaceful consolidation of the Union after the close of the Rebellion, the vast increase of wealth and corresponding luxury, and the final settling down to normal conditions after the "panic" of 1873—itself the last after-stroke of the war—induced the people to devote themselves without hindrance to the cultivation of the fine arts and industries. Architectural education was placed on a new and sound footing. The establishment of a Department of Architecture in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Boston in 1866, and its success, and the establishment of similar schools of architecture in the Illinois State University at Champaign, in Cornell University, Columbia College, Syracuse University, the University of Pennsylvania, and other institutions, has tended to attract to the ranks of the profession the very best class of ambitious, earnest men, who are thoroughly trained. "Travelling scholarships," awarded as prizes to successful students, have contributed to the thoroughness of their educational and artistic equipment by stimulating foreign travel and study. Leagues and associations among those in the active practice of the profession have been a powerful influence in promoting mutual sympathy and enthusiasm, and in enforcing the highest ethical and artistic standards in the practice of their mem-

bers. Among these the American Institute of Architects, founded in 1857, with chapters in nearly all the principal cities of the United States, is the oldest and most influential, and has done much to further the highest interests of the art.

Three historic events must also be specially noticed for their part in this artistic revolution: the great fires at Chicago (1871) and Boston (1872), and the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876. By the first two we were taught the painful and costly lesson of the worthlessness of the methods of construction then in vogue; two of our chief cities, one in the East and the other in the West, were given an unrivalled opportunity for a thorough architectural regeneration, and the profession received the stimulus of an unwonted pressure of important work. From the last of these three events we received benefits more general and lasting, which have made it an era in the history of American art. The Centennial Exhibition was the embodiment of a peacefully triumphant Democracy, victorious over distracting civil strife and commercial panic. It was a great achievement of the American people: it was a still greater lesson, teaching them their inferiority in those arts which beautify life, and revealing to them for the first time, in the unrivalled beauty of many of the foreign exhibits, the possibilities of human skill in the fine and decorative arts. We have not space to trace its various channels of influence in creating, first, the new demand for the artistic element in our manufactures, in our education, and in American life, and then the supply for that demand; we can only here observe that its effect in every direction was far-reaching and permanent. The wholly unprecedented scale

and magnificence of the forthcoming Columbian Fair at Chicago, and its architectural splendor, could never have been but for the "Centennial" at Philadelphia in 1876. An examination of its treasures of American design and manufacture will best enable the world to measure the advance made in the arts since 1876; and the experts who visit Chicago and judge for themselves can tell their own countries that Democracy has developed a love of the higher things of art to a surprising degree.

And thus it has come to pass that in this year of grace 1892 American architecture is no longer a by-word among the nations, nor need we go back to the colonial mansions and churches of a hundred years ago to find buildings worthy of the American name. In every department of the builder's art we can point to worthy achievements within the last two decades. The list of our notable buildings is no longer confined to the Capitol and the Treasury at Washington, Girard College at Philadelphia, and Grace Church in New York, as English writers were wont to imagine not many years ago. European cities are bestowing an increasingly respectful attention upon the doings of our architects, and following with interest the development of architectural design among a people destitute of artistic traditions, and yet both by inheritance and acquisition predestined to high attainments in art. The late Professor Freeman, of Oxford, has recorded his admiration of the striking and, at the time of his writing, novel use of the forms of the French Romanesque by Mr. Richardson and his followers. There is now an increasing tendency to adopt the forms of the Italian and French Renaissance—a tendency most strongly felt in New York, where it has produced some exceedingly beautiful club-

houses, hotels, residences, and places of amusement, and whence it is rapidly overspreading the country. As the influence of the Richardsonian Romanesque movement will long be felt in the increased vigor, breadth, and straightforwardness of our architectural compositions, so this new wave of Italian influence is leaving its impress in an increased refinement, elegance, and monumental symmetry of design. Richardson's work is rightly recognized as having been one of the most potent factors in the regeneration of American architecture. The list of his achievements, from Trinity Church, in Boston, which was the corner-stone of his fame, to the splendid County Buildings at Pittsburgh, with which his remarkable career came to a close, is a long one, including almost every phase of public and private architecture, and revealing him a master among men. His influence will survive for many years, and his best works will be admired as long as men admire simplicity, dignity, and vigor of design, controlled by an unerring taste and wise self-restraint.

As a result of these various influences, the best and most monumental of our recent structures show that we are developing a style of design (the Eclectic) which is characteristic of the country; a style still in process of evolution, and still contending with the special difficulties of American conditions, such as those presented by narrow city lots and towering office buildings. We have also developed new types in the planning and arrangement of our edifices; and the superiority of our commercial structures is not confined to their exterior design, nor to the splendor and costliness of their interior finish, but extends to the whole conception, disposition, and construction of the building. Such magnificent edifices as the Chicago

"Auditorium," the New York Produce Exchange, and the "Ames Building" in Boston, or the splendid palaces erected for metropolitan journals—the *Times* and *Herald* buildings in New York, for instance—reveal even the Almighty Dollar of America in the attitude of obeisance to the fine arts. That our railroad corporations have also yielded to the onward march of taste is evidenced by the wonderful improvement in the architectural character of American railroad stations within ten years. This has affected not only the great terminal "depots," but the minor wayside stations as well, many of which are structures of truly charming design.

There has also been a great advance in our church architecture, although the multiplicity of denominations and of small parishes among us has prevented any such uniform and organic development as that in our commercial buildings. But the accepted design for the Protestant Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in New York, based on Romanesque and Byzantine motives, is among the finest and most imposing examples of ecclesiastical design anywhere produced in recent years.

In domestic architecture, both urban and rural, American progress has been especially remarkable, and has attracted widespread attention abroad. To the universal American craving for comfort, and even luxury, the growth of public taste has added an almost equally general demand for artistic treatment of plan and form, which has resulted in the complete transformation of many of our suburban and rural districts. In no other country is the average citizen so comfortably lodged; and the striving for "originality" and "picturesqueness" which not long ago characterized the architectural treatment of

the average country house, is settling into a more disciplined reserve, more quiet, dignified, and pure in the masses and details of the designs. The old-time monotony of the residence streets in our large cities has given place to a remarkable variety of aspect and individuality in the separate house fronts, not infrequently carried to the extreme. But, on the whole, our cities have gained in attractiveness of appearance, and some of them can boast of residential quarters as fine as any in the world, the "Back Bay" of Boston, and the new "West Side" along the Riverside Park in New York, being good examples among many others. In the less crowded districts of some of our American cities, and in suburban towns, are many splendid specimens of costly "detached" residences, which American architects have developed into a distinct national type, in spite of their great variety of aspect and detail. Some of the larger mansions of our wealthy citizens are veritable palaces, unsurpassed in richness and beauty of design and adornment. The same is true of the more important among recently-erected hotels; that with which the ancient city of St. Augustine has been embellished—the "Ponce de Leon" and its adjuncts—constitutes one of the most beautiful, and the most magnificent hostelry in any land.

The millionnaire builder of this palace, my good friend Mr. Flagler, has a taste for building—he must *always* be building something—and visiting St. Augustine he found it needed a hotel. Here was a chance for the builder. The cost has run into the millions, but the owner has at least an artistic success for his expenditure, and this is all he cares for. All other hotels are secondary. Here is the first.

To measure the strides of our architectural progress one need only draw the comparison and the contrast between the Centennial Exposition of 1876 and the World's Columbian Fair of 1892. Each of these great enterprises may be taken as a faithful reflection of the culture and attainment of its time. But from the plain and inartistic sheds of 1876, as suitable for freight-stations as for a Fair of the Nations, how extraordinary the advance to the architecture of that superb "White City" on the edge of Lake Michigan, with its imposing palaces, its arches and colonnades, its domes and terraces! In its artistic quality as well as in its vast dimensions, it surpasses anything that has thus far been attempted. At Philadelphia, but one of the whole group of buildings—the Art Gallery—could lay claim to architectural beauty; yet the "Centennial" buildings were much admired in their day, and accepted as fair indices of our artistic and industrial attainments, worthy of the people and of the occasion. How different and how immensely superior the housing of the Columbian Exhibition! Not only are the buildings larger and more numerous, as befits the industrial progress of the past seventeen years; they are dreams of beauty and marvels of construction, presenting in their carefully studied *ensemble* a composition of architectural splendor such as has hardly been seen since the fall of Rome. No Eiffel tower obtrudes its mechanical rigidity amid this aggregation of palaces; and the fact that the most conspicuous feature of the wonderful display of Paris in 1889 would appear wholly out of place in the architectural pageant at Chicago, is most significant of the high taste which presided over the conception of this unrivalled achievement of American architecture. Though the external features of

this transitory and scenic display are wrought in "staff" on a wooden skeleton, this in no wise derogates from the artistic merit of the design, which has engaged the most earnest efforts of the architects, sculptors, and decorators who have so generously coöperated in its production. The mighty roofs and domes of these colossal structures —in one of which cathedrals could be swallowed up, with plenty of room to spare—furnished constructive problems of the highest order, at which architects and iron-workers alike would have stood aghast in 1876, but whose triumphant solution in 1892 has hardly called forth a comment. In this unique and noble enterprise the leading architects of several cities joined forces with those of Chicago in friendly rivalry—or, rather, collaboration—sacrificing personal predilections to the interests of high art; a spectacle the like of which has never before been seen. What better testimony could there be to the lofty and generous spirit that pervades the profession at large, as well as to the genius and ability of its leaders?

And, finally, the fact is significant that the advances we have made in this grandest of the arts are the work of native Americans. While in the allied arts we have had to depend largely on the artistic skill of aliens or naturalized foreigners, our architecture is strictly American. The names of the leading architects have almost the smack of Puritan ancestry. Americans are they, to the core. Our architecture is strong, fruitful, ever increasing in beauty and richness. If present promise be fulfilled, and the next quarter-century sees an advance like that which has marked the interval between the Centennial and the Columbian Fair, the Republic's position in architecture will be high indeed.

CHAPTER XIV

AGRICULTURE

"And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—ISAIAH.

WE talk of our commerce, and we boast of our manufactures, but the products of the soil are more important than both combined.

While commerce employs 2,900,000, and manufactures and mining 6,000,000, by far the largest corps of the industrial army—10,700,000—tills the soil. Fortunate indeed for the country that so great a proportion of its people are farmers and live in the country, close to nature, among birds and bees and flowers and the golden grain and the scent of the hay, and with the complaining brooks that make the meadows green; where the morning sun can be seen as it comes forth, and the glorious picture of its setting can be worshipped every evening. This is the life that produces contented, sober-minded, good-natured, fair and independent men. The rural democracy is the controlling force which shields the nation from the "falsehood of extremes."

To say that the soil is owned and cultivated by the people is to dispel all doubts as to the stability, the peace, and the prosperity of the State.

In 1887, the latest date for which returns are available, the principal nations of the world stand in the follow-

ing order in the value of their agricultural and pastoral products: The Republic heads the procession with nearly $4,000,000,000, having marched in little more than a century from the foot to the head of the column. Russia, with her immense area and one hundred millions of population, follows at a respectful distance with about $2,800,000,000; then comes La Belle France, with $2,300,000,000, having recently passed Germany in the race, which comes next with $2,120,000,000; then Austria-Hungary with $1,655,000,000, the harvest of her extensive corn lands and plains; and sixth in order comes the beautiful isle of the sea, small but mighty, Britain, with $1,255,000,000, a prodigious sum for her small area, proving how mother earth responds to proper cultivation. Italy, Spain, Australia, and Canada follow, but their united product is not quite two-thirds that of the Republic.

Comparing these figures with those of 1880, we are struck with the fact that, with the exception of the United States, no country shows much increase in its agricultural products. All have apparently about reached their capacity. The agricultural products of the Republic, on the other hand, were rated in 1880 at only three thousand million dollars; in 1887, as we have seen, they amounted to four thousand millions, an increase of thirty-three per cent. in seven years. She is fast becoming the granary of the world. No other region seems able to export any greatly increasing quantity of food products to supply the deficiencies of Europe.

Ceres is indeed the prime divinity of the Republic. To her shrine is attracted the largest number of worshippers, and their homage is rewarded by her sweetest smiles and her most gracious favors.

No victory of peace was so long deferred, or so complete when it came, as the conquest of the soil. A hundred years ago agriculture was in little better condition all over the world than it was a thousand years before. Indeed it has been boldly asserted that the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, and Assyrians cultivated their soil better than any portion of the earth was tilled even a century ago. The alternation of crops was almost unknown; the fields exhausted by frequent repetition of the same crop were allowed to lie fallow, as in the time of Moses. Drainage, where practised, was of the rudest kind; and in the sodden ground crops were thin and poor in quality, and unhealthy as food. Farming implements were of the most primitive type. The plough generally used was little better than that of Virgil's time, and only scratched the ground. The sower, with basket suspended by a cord round the neck, walked over the field throwing handfuls of grain on each side, as described in the parable, and as shown even now by pictures in rural almanacs. The reaping-hook, almost as old as the hills on which waved the ripened corn, was the only means of cutting it; while only the "thresher's weary flingin'-tree" of Burns enabled the farmer to separate the grain from the straw.

In breeding and rearing cattle, progress had been equally insignificant. The quality of food given to cattle was so bad that attention to breeding alone availed little in improving stock. The average weight of oxen and sheep sold in Smithfield market has more than doubled since the middle of the last century, a result to be ascribed to improved feeding quite as much as to increased care in breeding.

The primitive condition of agriculture in America a century and a quarter ago is well illustrated in the following extract from a work by the Swedish traveller, Kalm. Speaking of the James River colonists, he says:

"They make scarce any manure for their corn fields, but when one piece of ground has been exhausted by continual cropping, clear and cultivate another piece of fresh land, and when that is exhausted proceed to a third. Their cattle are allowed to wander through the woods and uncultivated grounds, where they are half starved, having long ago extirpated almost all the annual grasses by cropping them too early in the spring, before they had time to form their flowers or to shed their seeds."

And the imperfect feeding caused the cattle to diminish in size generation by generation, till they grew so stunted and small as to be appropriately called "runts."

The advance made in agriculture and cattle-raising during the last half century has been prodigious; and much of it is due either to the creation by American inventive genius of mechanical appliances, or to enforced European inventiveness resulting from American competition. From the earliest times American statesmen have directed their energies to the advancement of agricultural arts. Washington, with a burden of care such as has been the lot of few, found time to superintend agricultural operations and experiments. The importance of agriculture to civilization formed the text of his last annual message to Congress; and the last elaborate production of his pen, written only a week before his death, was a long letter to the manager of his farms, containing thirty-two folio sheets of directions for their cultivation during several succeeding years. Most of Washington's successors to the Presidency gave personal attention to

agriculture. One of the most distinguished of them, Mr. Jefferson, invented the hill-side plough; and Adams, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster forgot the anxieties of statesmanship in the peaceful pursuits of the farm. Beginning thus early, the advancement of agriculture has continued to be the first care of American statesmen and the American people, with the result that the Republic leads the world to-day not only in amount of agricultural products, but in excellence of agricultural machinery.

One-fourth of the total wealth of America is employed in the ownership and cultivation of the soil, and that is about the proportion which agriculture contributes to the industrial produce. Statistics for 1830 being untrustworthy, comparisons cannot safely be made with so early a period; but taking the figures of the census of 1850, which was very complete, we find that in the short space of forty years the amount of improved land more than trebled. The following table shows the extent and regularity of the progress made:

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890
Total acres in farm .	293,560,614	407,212,538	407,735,041	536,081,835	580,000,000
Acres improved . .	113,032,614	163,110,720	188,921,099	284,771,043	348,000,000
Number of farms . .	1,449,073	2,044,077	2,659,985	4,008,907	4,650,000
Average size of farms .	203	199	153	134	125

It will be seen that the tendency is toward smaller rather than larger farms. Notwithstanding the gigantic holdings which have been the fashion in recent years in some of the northwestern States, the average farm has fallen in size from two hundred and three acres in 1850 to one hundred and thirty-four acres in 1880, and probably to one hundred and twenty-five acres or less at the present

time. As this result has been reached under a system of absolute freedom, we are justified in assuming that the cultivation of holdings small enough to be worked by one family without employing help is found to be the condition best fitted for survival. When I was in the Northwest upon the huge estates there, sagacious agriculturists in the district predicted that the small farmer, upon his eighty, or, at the most, one hundred and sixty, acres, would eventually drive out the great capitalists who had undertaken to farm thousands of acres by the labor of others; and the disintegration of these immense holdings has already begun. This is most cheering, for it is manifestly better for the State that a race of citizens, each his own master and landlord, should inhabit the land and each call a small portion of it his own, than that one man should be lord over thousands of acres and hundreds of farm laborers. Political and economical ends fortunately unite in this the grandest of all branches of industry in the nation. The centralization which seems inseparable from manufacturing is not, we may console ourselves, to invade the realms of agriculture. The State is still to rest in security upon the millions who possess and cultivate the soil divided into small farms. Such citizens are the very life-blood of the Republic.

In view of the fact that the land is going more and more into the hands of the people in smaller and smaller areas, what are we to think of men like Henry George, who are constantly proclaiming that the land is going into the hands of the few? It is usually added that the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer. This statement is equally untrue, for every source of proof bearing upon the assertion is known to tell just the opposite, and that

wealth was never being so rapidly distributed among the nasses; that of the returns of labor and capital, never did so large a proportion go to labor and so small a share to capital. But in refuting this statement we have not, unfortunately, the means of giving exact figures, although of ts incorrectness there can be no doubt. In regard to the and, however, we have the exact figures. There is no rustworthy source of information other than the census. It cannot be so far wrong as to report a steady decrease n the size of agricultural holdings during every decade rom 1850, when the first figures were obtained, to 1890, luring which period the average holding has fallen from wo hundred and three acres to one hundred and twenty-ive. We have evidence of similar distribution of land mong the people in most of the leading countries of the world. Here, then, is the truth, both in regard to wealth nd land, under present conditions: the poor are becoming richer and the rich poorer, and the land is going more nd more into the hands of the masses of the people very day.

The improved land in 1880 was but fifteen per cent. of the total area, but even then, according to Mulhall, it produced thirty per cent. of the grain of the world. The capital invested in farms and farming was $10,600,000,000 £2,120,000,000), being more than three times as much as hat invested in manufacturing, the next largest industry. At present, the proportion is doubtless less, since manufactures have increased at a more rapid rate than agriculture. The difference between "acres in farms" and 'acres improved" is that the former includes about thirty-ive per cent. of natural woodland, which, although owned by the farmer, has not yet been cleared for crops.

In the newly settled States of the West it also includes a considerable but rapidly decreasing extent of land covered with a luxuriant growth of native grass, but as yet unploughed. It will therefore be seen that the productive acreage of the country may be, and no doubt soon will be, largely increased by the present farmers, independently of any increase in the number of farms.

It was considered wonderful at the beginning of the century to look back to sixty-five thousand square miles that had been brought under cultivation. Between 1850 and 1860, however, one hundred and seventy-seven thousand square miles had been turned into farms, and between 1870 and 1880 over two hundred thousand square miles. Thus in ten years territory larger than Britain, and almost equal in extent to the entire area of France or Germany, was added to the farm area in America, and still the work goes on. During the last ten years the sales of public lands exceeded one hundred and ninety million acres, or three hundred thousand square miles, one-tenth the area of the country—an area fifty per cent. greater than that of the German Empire. In Dakota alone the new farms in 1883 exceeded six million acres—one-third of all Scotland. It is very clear that the Americans are likely to remain the great agricultural people of the world.

In 1880 an inquiry was made for the first time in the United States into the tenure of farms—whether cultivated by their owners, rented, or worked on shares, with the result shown in the table on the following page—a result which must give cause for rejoicing to all patriots. Let it be recorded that the Republic is a nation of small landowners.

ACRES IN FARMS.	WORKED BY OWNERS.		RENTED.		WORKED ON SHARES.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Under 3	2,601	60	875	20	876	20
3 and under 10	85,456	63	22,904	17	26,529	20
10 " 20	122,411	48	41,522	16	90,816	36
20 " 50	460,486	59	97,399	13	223,689	28
50 " 100	804,522	78	69,663	7	158,625	15
100 " 500	1,416,618	84	84,645	5	194,720	11
500 " 1,000	66,447	87	3,956	5	5,569	8
1,000 and over . .	25,765	90	1,393	5	1,420	5

Similar figures for 1890 are not yet available, but they will doubtless show still greater subdivision.

This corroborates the current belief that the majority of farms in America are cultivated by their owners, nearly three million of the four million farms for which we have complete statistics being of this class. Eighteen per cent. of the total were cultivated upon shares. The farms most frequently rented for money are the smallest farms, and their number steadily decreases. Only in the South does the system of renting, especially for a share in the proceeds, prevail to any extent. The system has grown up since the war, in consequence of the subdivision of the great plantations, most of the lessees being colored people. It marks a temporary stage of development succeeding slavery, and is certain to pass away as the renters are able to buy the land from the present owners, their former masters. The free play of individual forces tends to make the cultivator of the soil its owner. There is no law of primogeniture or of entail in America, and the transfer of land is scarcely more difficult than the sale or purchase of a horse.

The reputed average value of farm lands in the United States is $19.21 per acre, or about £4, not much more than the rent per annum of some of the land in Britain. It ranges from $34 (nearly £7) in the North Atlantic group of States, to $7.35 in the States of the Southern Central group.

From 1850 to 1860 the value of farms more than doubled, while population increased only thirty-five per cent. On account of the Civil War, the ratio of increase from 1860 to 1870 was less than that of population, but from 1870 to 1880 it rose thirty-seven per cent., which was seven per cent. greater than the increase of population; and this increase in value is still going on, so that the tendency hitherto has been for land to increase in value even faster than the growth of population. This has made the farmer of America highly prosperous during the past thirty years; for even if he has only made a living for himself and family from the produce, and improved his land, he stands to-day with a property worth four times its value forty years ago. For every $500 (£100) invested in his farm he has $2,000 (£400) to-day. Had he rented his farm from a landlord, this unearned increment would have gone to the landlord, and the worker would have been left where he began, except for the savings in money he might have been able to make. The rise of values going on around him, which he did so much to produce, would have been of no benefit to him. He would not have been half the man he is, not worth half as much to the State. That State alone is absolutely secure from violent measures whose soil belongs to the mass of the people.

Much was formerly heard of the Great American

Desert, and very justly so, for the desert does exist, and in its natural state justified the pessimistic views which were universally expressed. But the early travellers had not thought of the surrounding snow-clad hills, which furnish the only element needed to make this desert blossom as the rose. In 1890 3,600,000 acres, say 5,625 square miles, of this former desert were under cultivation. And in addition to this about a million and a quarter of acres were irrigated for grazing purposes. The number of farmers occupied in this work was 54,136. This arid region now produces the heaviest yield, as cultivation under the system of irrigation is very thorough. A strange result indeed, that the supposed worthless desert should be made more fertile than any other part of the country, simply by regulating the water supply from the hills. It is evident that this movement is to continue until all the surplus water is rendered available. Fortunately the needful element is generally abundant.

The rainfall of the country, which is abundant over the eastern half, gradually diminishes as we rise up the slope of the great plains between the ninety-seventh and one hundredth meridians, until about the middle of Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas the rainfall becomes in the average year too slight to supply the needs of most crops. In nearly all the country to the westward, irrigation is necessary for the successful prosecution of agriculture. Since the rainfall varies greatly in amount from year to year, there is now and then a season in which it is sufficient in certain parts of this region for the growth of crops; and, again, there are here and there valleys in the mountains so situated with regard to local topography as to enjoy sufficient rainfall for the use of the crops in

almost any year; but, speaking broadly, for the average year this entire region, from about the middle of the States before mentioned, westward to the Cascade range of Oregon and Washington and the Pacific coast in California, does not receive sufficient rainfall to mature crops, and irrigation is almost universally practised by the farmer. This region comprises nearly two-fifths of the area of the United States, or about one million two hundred thousand square miles.

Just cast your eye over the march of the last forty years and satisfy yourself that the Republic has travelled with its seven-leagued boots on. In 1850 only eight hundred and sixty-seven million bushels of grain were produced; ten years more, one thousand two hundred million; ten more, one thousand four hundred million; in 1880, two thousand seven hundred million; and finally, in 1891, there were produced of maize, wheat, and oats, not less than thirty-five hundred million bushels from the generous bosom of good Mother Earth. Of this aggregate, two thousand and sixty millions were maize, six hundred and twelve millions wheat, and seven hundred and thirty-eight millions oats. The maize or Indian corn crop is therefore much greater than the crop of wheat and oats combined. Maize, which is mostly consumed at home, is the staff of life for the hog; horses and cattle are also fed upon it to a great extent throughout the country; nevertheless the export trade has grown year after year. Twenty years ago not $10,000,000 (£2,000,000) worth were sent abroad; in 1890 over four times as much.

A grand sight is a field of corn on a hot day. I remember being upon a train in southern Illinois, which,

on account of obstructions on the line, had to lie upon a siding for several hours. Nothing but corn was in sight over the great, level plain. I wandered among the immense stalks, some at least fourteen feet high. A heavy dew had fallen during the night, and the hot morning sun was now well up in the heavens. Crack after crack resounded like pistol shots. It was the corn bursting its coverings. I imagined I could actually see it grow; I know I *felt* it do so. What would America do without her maize and cotton, the two pillars upon which her agricultural supremacy so largely depends! She is pretty sure of the future, however, for upon no other portion of the globe can either of these be grown to such advantage.

The increase in wheat has been even greater than in any other crop. It is doubtful whether any other agricultural growth was ever as rapid as that of wheat in this country during the past thirty years. Up to 1859 the Republic used to import wheat at intervals from Europe; yet she is now the purveyor of the staff of life for mankind, producing one-fourth of the world's crop. In 1850 only one hundred million bushels were grown; in 1860 the crop was one hundred and seventy-three millions, being an increase of seventy per cent. in ten years; in 1870 the amount was two hundred and eighty-seven millions; in 1880 we find the crop four hundred and fifty-nine millions; and in 1891 it reached, as before stated, six hundred and twelve million bushels.

Thirty-two years ago (1860) the export of wheat and flour averaged between thirty and forty millions of dollars (six and eight millions sterling). In 1880, $190,000,000 (£38,000,000) worth was sent forth, of which Britain alone received $175,000,000 (£35,000,000); and last year,

1892, the amount exported reached the enormous figure of $237,000,000 (£47,400,000).

One is surprised to find that oats are so largely grown in America, for so little is heard of that modest grain compared with its much-talked-of neighbor. The recent increase in its production is astonishing. Oats are now raised to a much larger amount than wheat. The North-western States are admirably adapted to their growth, and instead of Scotch and Irish oatmeal being imported for human food, as it was until recently, the native article is found fully equal. Such was proved to be the case at the last Paris Exposition. Indeed, nothing surprised me so much as to hear my Scotch visitors to America declare that American oatmeal porridge surpassed the Dunfermline article. The other indispensable commodity for a Scotch-man, however, they pronounced miserable; neither "Bour-bon" nor "Old Monongahela" found favor with them. The verdict was that only by a stretch of politeness almost to bursting was the stuff worthy to take the revered name of whiskey. This, however, is a matter of taste, for most connoisseurs prefer the republican to the Scotch article.

The production of barley increases rapidly. The census of 1850 shows that only five million bushels were grown the preceding year. In ten years it had increased to sixteen millions; in ten more (1870) to twenty-nine millions; while 1880 shows forty-four millions of bushels and 1890 seventy-eight millions. So much for bold John Barleycorn. The acreage under barley in 1889 was three and one-fourth millions, and the yield per acre twenty-four bushels. The United Kingdom had then two and one-fourth millions devoted to this grain, so the barley crop of America is greater than that of the old home.

In the United States in 1889 two million one hundred and seventy thousand acres were sown with rye, the production of which was twenty-eight million four hundred thousand bushels. Rye does not figure in the returns for Britain which are before me, the authorities saying that very little is now grown there.

After all, it is not maize, cotton, wheat, oats, barley, or rye which is king in the agricultural kingdom, but the more modest grass. Hay is the most valuable of all American crops; the amount cut in 1888 exceeded forty-six millions of tons, grown on more than thirty-eight millions of acres. It has kept pace with its rivals, for in 1850 not quite fourteen million tons were grown.

Sorghum and the sugar beet are the most important products of recent introduction. Though a stranger, sorghum seems to thrive in its new home, and its cultivation spreads rapidly. In 1880 more than twenty-eight million gallons of molasses were made from it, more than half a gallon for every man, woman, and child in the country.

In 1891 a factory in Kansas made nearly half a million pounds of sugar from sorghum cane, and unless the bounty now paid by the United States Government on sugar of domestic manufacture be repealed, this branch of the sugar industry will probably become important. The production of beet sugar, although quite in its infancy, is already assuming large proportions, having reached twelve million pounds in 1889. The sugar beet of the Western and Pacific States is found to be extraordinarily rich in saccharine matter, and only the repeal of the bounty law can prevent wonderful developments. The production of sugar from the true sugar-cane in the Southern States in

1889 reached the large total of three hundred and two and three-fourth million pounds, yielding to the producers nearly $13,000,000; and that of merchantable cane molasses, twenty-five and four-tenth million gallons, worth over $8,000,000. Although a confection rather than a food, sugar made from the sap of the sugar maple is also an important article of commerce, thirty-three million pounds of it having been made in 1889. Its value, together with two and one-fourth million gallons of maple syrup, was over $4,500,000.

We now come to the great Southern staple, King Cotton, an ancient and honorable potentate truly; for does not Herodotus tell us, four hundred and fifty years B.C., that the Indians were then weaving it into cloth? and did not Cæsar cover the Forum and the Sacred Way with awnings of cotton to shade the dignitaries of the Imperial City from the rays of the sun? In 1621 the first cotton was planted in America. It did not take kindly to the climate. Many experiments failed, although repeated at different times and at various places; and over a century and a half elapsed before a pound of cotton was exported. In 1784 a small quantity of cotton was exported to Liverpool, which was there at first considered a case of false representation, as it was not supposed possible for it to have been the growth of any of the States of the Union. About the same period, a duty was proposed in the United States Congress on the import of foreign cotton, and it was declared by one of the representatives from South Carolina, "that the cultivation of cotton was in contemplation by the planters of South Carolina and Georgia, and that if good seed could be secured it might succeed."

We ought never to give up too readily a new thing,

whether plant or idea, for success often lies just beyond the last failure. For the six years following, the exports to England were respectively one hundred and nine, three hundred and eighty-nine, and eight hundred and forty-two bags. After independence (1776) cotton began to attract special attention. Whitney's gin for separating the seeds from the fibre removed the only obstacle to its almost unlimited production. A tariff upon the importation of cotton goods led to the manufacture of cloth at home, and cotton cultivation receiving a further impetus, America soon became the leading source of supply for the world. Not to go back further, we find in 1830, 976,845 bales were grown; in 1880 the crop was 5,757,397 bales, valued at $275,000,000 (£55,000,000); in 1891 it exceeded 9,000,000 bales, by far the greatest crop ever grown. The lowest price ever known for cotton was reached in the following year, owing to this amazing crop; cotton was sold at sixty-four cents per pound—about one-half the usual price. Of the 1830 crop, $30,000,000 (£6,000,000) worth was exported; of the 1880 crop, $220,000,000 (£44,000,000) worth, of which England took nearly two-thirds. The latter, however, included manufactured cotton, of which in 1830 there was none. So that the value of the cotton exported exceeded that of wheat by $30,000,000 (£6,000,000). In 1891 the value of the exports of raw cotton amounted to $291,000,000. This was more than double the value of all the breadstuffs exported.

Although the comparatively large area of one and one-third million acres was devoted to the cultivation of flax in 1889, it was almost exclusively for the seed that this was grown. The American people, the largest consumers of linen in the world, have always been dependent for that

fabric almost entirely upon the foreign manufacturer. There are at present some indications of the growth of a genuine flax industry in the country that will further diversify both our agriculture and our manufactures.

Tobacco growing still continues to prosper in America, although it is a question whether the coming man will smoke. America increased her crop eighty per cent. from 1870 to 1880; during the last decade, however, the production has been practically at a standstill. Over seven hundred thousand acres are now devoted to the weed. The value of the product in 1890 was nearly $35,000,000 (£7,000,000). Brother Jonathan makes a fair division of his tobacco with the rest of mankind, for he sends just about half of it abroad and smokes the other half himself. "Take a cigar," he says, and hands one to less favored nations, reserving only one for himself.

No better illustration could be afforded of the rapid developments which occur in American agriculture from time to time than is furnished by the statistics of cotton seed. This by-product was not deemed of sufficient importance to be included in any census report prior to 1890, but in that year the cotton growers of the country sold no less than 1,789,895 tons of it, realizing therefrom the large sum of $16,000,000. Cotton-seed-oil mills have sprung up all over the South, and the production and exportation of oil and oil-cake, the latter well known to English readers, are very large. Rice is another important Southern product, one hundred and thirty million pounds of which were grown in 1889.

We must not ignore the so-called fruit of old Ireland, the potato, which, however, is a native, true American in origin. America does her share in growing potatoes,

those apples of the earth. In 1888 she produced nearly two hundred and three millions of bushels, a little more than three and a half bushels to every man, woman, and child.

The enormous quantity of fruit grown and consumed in America surprises the visitor. Notwithstanding its cheapness, the orchard products in 1880 were valued at $52,500,000 (£10,500,000), and there was imported an average of six pounds of fruit to each person, worth altogether about $20,000,000 (£4,000,000).

Although an industry of great magnitude, horticulture is only just beginning to receive the attention it deserves at the hands of statisticians. As an evidence of its importance, we may state that in 1890 a capital of over $155,000,000 (£31,000,000) was found to be invested in vineyards alone, the industry giving employment to upward of 200,000 persons. Over 300,000 tons of grapes were used in the making of 24,300,000 gallons of wine, and 267,000 tons were made into raisins or sold for table use.

That the Republic is going to be the greatest wine-growing country in the world is very clear to those who have examined the subject. While the wines of the Pacific slope do not command the prices of the favorite brands of sunny France, it is pleasing to know that the raisins are of finer quality and command higher prices than any other in the world. Surely if the Californian growers have already succeeded in producing the best raisins, it would seem that it could not be long before they came abreast of older countries with their wines. But the one quality may prevent the other, who knows? Good grapes for raisins, bad grapes for wine. Well, such is my faith

in the power of the Republic to produce anything desired, that even if grapes of different qualities be requisite, the American will discover how to produce them. We may not gather grapes from thistles, but there is no insuperable reason why by grafting we may not get two qualities of grapes even upon the same vine. In Sorrento I saw two kinds of oranges successfully produced upon the same tree; and why not two kinds of grapes, one for raisins and the other for wines?

Upward of $100,000,000 was invested in "truck farming," which is the production of fruits and vegetables in favored localities at a distance from market. Over half a million acres were devoted to this purpose in 1889, and nearly a quarter of a million persons employed in it, the total products for the year being valued at $76,500,000. In nurseries, seed farms, and the production of tropic and semi-tropical fruits and nuts, there were 614,000 acres, with a production valued at $74,500,000. Even floriculture has its statistics, which tell us that in 1890 it gave employment to 18,800 persons, of whom nearly 2,000 were women. Over $8,000,000 was paid out in wages in a single year, and the value of the product was over $26,000,000.

No better proof of the extraordinary wealth of the country can be furnished than the sums spent upon flowers by the people, and a most precious proof it is that the American is not the materialistic, matter-of-fact, unsentimental creation of foreign fiction; but, on the contrary, that he is, as Professor Bryce states in the "American Commonwealth," more idealistic than either Frenchman or Englishman. I think he is ultimately to resemble the Scot in one important respect, and be known as the pos-

sessor of a level head above his shoulders, and blessed with a sweet, tender heart below, devoted to Farming and Flowers—shrewd bargainer and sentimentalist in one.

The total value of the year's product of Uncle Sam's estate in 1890 was nearly $4,000,000,000 (£800,000,000), and it was not a good year for prices, either.

Let us now glance at the live-stock upon his gigantic farm, and at their products, and see what he has to show us there.

He first asks us to review his hogs, a motley mass, ranging from the patrician Bedford down to the plebeian, long-snouted grunter, which must "root or die." Fifty-two and four-tenths millions march past. Imagine their salute. Every man, woman, and child in the land owns five-sixths of a hog. Now come his cattle with their glowering eyes, and the line stretches till fifty-six millions are counted, an increase of ten millions since the 1880 parade. Sixteen and one-half millions of these are milch cows, the most widely scattered and most equally diffused of all his beasts. Throughout America every family of four persons has a milch cow. He exhibits his sheep next, forty-five millions of these, and enough left over to stock an ordinary country, nearly three-fourths of a sheep to every inhabitant.

Will it please you now to look at Uncle Sam's horses? Trot them out. Fifteen and one-half millions of these useful, noble animals, an increase of three millions since 1880, ranging from the fastest trotters in the world—from Nancy Hanks, with her record of a mile in two minutes four seconds, to the half-wild "tackey" of Florida. The record of 1885 was, Maud S., 2 : 08¾; gain in seven years, four and three-quarter seconds. There they are, followed by more

than two millions and a quarter of mules and asses, which close the long procession. These beasts increased three-quarters of a million in the decade. The eleventh census proves that on the average every family in the country really owns a horse, a cow, four pigs, and three sheep—not a bad start for a young farmer.

Were the live-stock upon Uncle Sam's estate ranged five abreast, each animal estimated to occupy a space five feet long, and marched round the world at the equator, the head and tail of the procession would overlap by several thousand miles. This was the host of 1890, and still it grows day by day, and the end of its growth no man can foretell.

Having reviewed the live-stock, let me now conduct you to the dairy to see the butter and cheese department. Four hundred thousand tons of butter were made in 1880, and five hundred thousand tons in 1890, an average of nearly sixteen pounds for every man, woman, and child in the country. The Yankee's bread is buttered on both sides in more lines than one. In 1870, eighty thousand tons of cheese were made; in 1880, one hundred and twenty thousand tons. Since the introduction of the factory system, cheese manufacturing has increased enormously. The American does not care for cheese as his progenitor does. What he makes he sends largely abroad to figure as Stilton, Cheshire, and Chedar, in Britain, for he manufactures all brands, and you cannot tell the republican article from its monarchical prototype. The cheese exports of a single year have amounted to more than sixteen million dollars. The statistics laid before the National Butter, Cheese, and Egg Association, at a recent meeting in Chicago, represent the annual value of dairy

products in this country as $100,000,000 (£20,000,000), while the amount of capital invested in cows is said to be greater by $40,000,000 (£8,000,000) than that invested in bank stocks.

What does the American do with all the products of his live-stock and dairy? First, he supplies his own wants —and these are great, for sixty-two and a half millions of the most prosperous people in the world, every one determined to have the best he can afford, and accustomed to the most expensive food, consume an enormous amount. The surplus he exports, and Britain is by far the largest recipient, taking of many articles half of all he has to spare.

In 1870 began a new traffic—the exportation of live cattle—of which $400,000 (£80,000) worth was sent to Britain; in 1891 this trade was nearly $33,000,000 (£6,600,000). The exportation of fresh beef was tried in 1875, and in 1892 the value of this article exported was $18,000,000 (£3,600,000).

The American hog has been a prime favorite in Europe during the past twenty years. In 1860 the amount of hams, bacon, pork, and lard exported was only $2,050,000 (£410,000); in 1892 the demand was for more than $85,000,000 (£17,000,000) worth. Britain takes the greater part. What a prejudice against American hams and bacon formerly existed there! I remember walking one day, in an English town, through a curer's establishment where the pigs of the district were killed, and who was supposed to deal only in the genuine home article. He furnished, no doubt, the much-praised ham and sweet bacon of which my friends boasted as so different from the foreign article. A pile of half-hidden boxes, marked

Chicago, caught my eye. I called the proprietor aside, and asked whether the contents were superior or inferior to the domestic. He smiled and said: "Sometimes the one and sometimes the other," adding, "We are queer folk!" The American article now stands upon its merits, but many a ton of it is still sold as genuine English.

Twenty years ago the mutton of America was not worth eating. It is still inferior to that of Britain, but it is growing better every year. Whether it can ever reach the grade of the best Scotch is doubtful, but the improvement in the sheep here is shown by the increase of wool, which is beyond the increase in the number of sheep. Between 1850 and 1860 the increase of wool production was fourteen per cent.; during the next decade it was sixty-six per cent., and between 1870 and 1880 no less than one hundred and forty-seven per cent. The average fleece in 1850 was but two and three-tenths pounds; by 1880 it had nearly doubled (four and four-tenths pounds). The fleece of a sheep in the north averages more than in the genial south, where the animal does not need so warm a coat. God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and he also adapts the fleece to the climate, and sees that the southern sheep is not overburdened.

Wool-growing in America shows the usual increase. In 1830 the fleece was but eighteen millions of pounds; in 1850, fifty-two millions; in 1860, sixty millions; and in 1870, one hundred millions. In the next ten years it much more than doubled, for in 1880 the fleece weighed two hundred and forty millions of pounds, and in 1891 it was two hundred and eighty-five million pounds. Could any one believe that the United States grows more than double the amount of wool grown in the United King-

dom! It surprised me to find that such was indeed the case. As one travels through Britain, go where he will, he is scarcely ever out of sight or hearing of the omnipresent sheep. In English meadows and on heather hills the white specks dot the scene. In our coaching tour we seemed to pass through endless herds of sheep on both sides of the road, while upon this side of the Atlantic we scarcely ever see the innocent creatures, and, indeed, what can be called a flock is the rarest sight. Yet the stragglers counted upon the three million square miles exceed the crowded flocks of Britain, the pastoral beauties of which they so much enhance. Mulhall gives the average of wool per sheep in the United Kingdom as four pounds, and that of America as five pounds; the latter estimate is found to be nearly one pound too low. This is another surprise. I should have said the average amount of wool upon the British sheep far exceeded that of its seemingly less prosperous transatlantic fellow. It is evident that America is more favorably placed for sheep growing than is generally supposed. Is there anything, I wonder, in the agricultural or live-stock line in which she does not excel?

Let me call the attention of my readers to the significant fact that articles of general consumption have all decreased in price in America during recent years, except beef, mutton, and pork, which have advanced inordinately, the opening of European markets to American producers having naturally reduced the supply at home. With this exception, the cost of living in the United States has been much lessened. The growth of this export trade is seen by the following figures. In 1870 the total value of exports of meat, on the hoof, fresh, or preserved, was only $17,500,000

(£3,500,000); in five years it had run up to nearly $70,000,000 (£14,000,000); and in 1891 no less than $160,000,000 (£32,000,000) worth were taken from the home market. America was not prepared to undergo this unexpected drain, hence the change in values. The export value of beef in 1870 was less than $20 (£4) per head; in 1892 it was not far from $90 (£18). A similar appreciation has taken place in the value of sheep, the price of which, $2 (8s.) per head in 1871, rose to $4.28 (17s.) in 1891. In live hogs we have the same result, though these obtained their maximum in 1883, when each hog exported represented $17 (£3 8s.). Restrictive legislation in various countries having interrupted the trade, prices during 1880 averaged only $5 (£1) per head. But even had no hostile legislation been passed, the capacity of this country to supply in a short time any number of hogs required must have occasioned a rapid fall in prices. A gradual decline did actually occur from 1883 to 1887, bringing the price down to $7.49 in the latter year; but after that there was a steady increase until 1891, when the price was $11.99 (£2 8s.). We are yet to see what will be the permanent effect of the response of the Republic to the foreign demands upon her ever-growing herds. At present writing, prices in Europe were never so low for all kinds of live-stock.

The sad condition of the agricultural population of the Republic has been the theme of many essays in Europe. The mortgage debt under which our farmers were groaning was said to be clear evidence that the farmers of Europe would not long have to meet the competition of the republican intruder. Pessimistic views were expressed even by some writers at home, and Congress wisely deter-

mined that an effort should be made to get at the facts when the next census was taken. Statements were made, for instance, that the mortgage debt of the people of Illinois was twelve hundred millions, and of Iowa five hundred and sixty-seven millions. The census returns give their respective mortgage debts as three hundred and eighty-four millions and one hundred and ninety-nine millions, about one-third of the "guesses" made by the alarmists. Other States show similar results. Inquiry was made into the reasons for giving these mortgages, and it was found that so far from proving the poverty of the debtor, they were evidence of his enterprise and desire to obtain more land which was bound to increase in value. Thus, in one hundred and two counties, situated in all parts of the Union, these special inquiries were made, and it was found that mortgage debts were the unpaid part of the purchase price of real estate up to one-half, and in many cases up to two-thirds, of the total price. It was also found that from ten to twenty per cent. of the present mortgage debt was incurred for money to erect new buildings, to stock farms with cattle, to procure work horses, agricultural machinery, etc. Agricultural regions conspicuous for the extent of their mortgage debts are invariably found to be the most active, enterprising, progressive, and most prosperous; it is the slow-going, lifeless, unambitious region which has few or none. In Illinois, for instance, one-half of the real estate mortgage debt in the whole State is in one county, which contains Chicago, although the county has but one-third of the population of the State. The four counties of Tennessee in which are situated the thriving cities of Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and Memphis have two-thirds of all the mort-

gage debts found in the State, yet they have but nineteen per cent. of the population. In Alabama, again, ten counties of the State, comprising those in which the great mining and manufacturing development has taken place, have sixty-four per cent. of the total mortgage debt found in the whole State, yet they have only twenty-one per cent. of its population.

If we take a comparison from the Northern States, Hampden County, Massachusetts, one of the most prosperous counties, comes in evidence. Its real estate mortgage debt is $144 per head; in the adjacent county of Franklin, which is not so prosperous, the mortgage debt is only $81 per head. Compare the city of St. Louis with Kansas City. The former has attained a solid and permanent position as one of our great cities, but its rate of increase between 1880 and 1890 was only twenty-nine per cent.; that of Kansas City in the same decade, one hundred and thirty-eight per cent. If it be true, therefore, that great increase of population and wealth bring increase of mortgage indebtedness, we should find the debt of Kansas City very much greater than that of St. Louis, and this is what the census shows: St. Louis being $91 per head; Jackson County, in which Kansas City is situated, being no less than $445.

Let it be accepted once for all that in a country which is rapidly increasing in population and wealth the existence of real estate mortgages is proof of sound enterprise, and a sure means of wealth to the debtor. Mortgage debt is not a sign of decay or embarrassment, but a healthful sign of ambition. Those farmers who have mortgaged one piece of land in order to buy another have seldom had reason to regret their judicious boldness.

It is gratifying thus to be able to dispel the alarming reports which have been spread about as to the deplorable financial condition of the agricultural community. The landlords of Europe, and of Britain especially, feed themselves upon hopes which have little foundation. They believe that cereals and other food supplies are now being sold by the American farmer, as they are by the British farmer, at a loss; that the republican farmer is mortgaged up to the hilt, as the British landlord usually is, and therefore that impending disaster is sure. But this is a great mistake, as the future is to prove.

A recent conference of agriculturists in Britain is most suggestive. Landlords, farmers, and laborers met together to discuss the situation, and as far as we read their proceedings, not one of them touched the real kernel of the subject. Not one asked why the land of Old England should be expected to differ from the land of New England, and continue to support four classes—the landlord who collects rent, the factor who attends to the business of the estate, and the gentleman farmer who employs laborers to do the work; while in New England we expect the soil to maintain only one class, the farmer and his family, who is in himself landlord, factor, farmer, and worker. New England meets the competition of the Great West, just as Old England does. The cost of ocean freight from New York to Britain is but a trifle. Ergo, agricultural land in Old England must soon occupy substantially the same position as in New England. There will be no room for landlord, factor, gentleman farmer, but only for the landlord who owns and tills the soil himself.

To conclude with a summary. The farms of America comprise approximately one million square miles, an area

nearly equal to one-third of Europe, and much larger than the four greatest European countries put together (Russia excepted), namely, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Spain. The capital invested in agriculture would suffice to buy up the whole of Italy, with its rich olive-groves and vineyards, its old historic cities, cathedrals, and palaces, its king and aristocracy, its pope and cardinals, and every other feudal appurtenance. Or, if the American farmers were to sell out, they could buy the entire peninsula of Spain, with all its traditions of mediæval grandeur, and the flat land which the Hollanders at vast cost have wrested from the sea, and the quaint old towns they have built there. If he chose to put by his savings for three years, the Yankee farmer could purchase the fee-simple of pretty Switzerland as a summer resort, and not touch his capital at all, for each year's earnings exceed $550,000,000 (£110,000,000). The cereal crop for 1891 was three billions and a half of bushels. If placed in one mass this would make a pile of four billion cubic feet. Built into a solid mass as high as the dome of St. Paul's (three hundred and sixty-five feet), and as wide as the cathedral across the transepts (two hundred and eighty-five feet), it would extend, a solid mass of grain, down Fleet Street and the length of the Strand to Piccadilly, thence on through Knightsbridge, Hammersmith, and South Kensington, to a distance of over eight miles. Or it would make a pyramid four times as great as that of Cheops. If loaded on carts, it would require all the horses in Europe and a million more (fifty millions) to remove it, though each horse drew a load of two tons. Were the entire crop of cereals loaded on a continuous line of ordinary railway cars, the train would reach twice round the globe at the equator. Its value is

two-thirds as great as all the gold mined in California since gold was found there. The corn and cotton fields alone surpass in area some of the kingdoms of Europe.

In 1891 more than half a million animals were sent to Europe alive, and more than a billion and a half pounds of meat were also exported. The total value of meat animals—dead and alive—exported to Europe was $160,000,000 (£32,000,000). It is hard to realize just what this muster really means. If the Atlantic could be crossed as the Red Sea was by Moses' host, and the live animals were placed ten abreast, each averaging five feet in length, the procession would be fifty miles long. Such a line the Republic sends every year to Europe. The dead animals are far beyond this in number, for, as usual, here we find the dead as compared to the living in "the great majority." Of cheese, eighty-two million pounds were exported in 1892, while one-fifth that quantity of butter was sent to lay upon the bread which the Republic had sent to Europe. The Republic is no niggard; she scatters her bounties not only profusely, but in palatable proportions. May her capacity to feed her neighbors never grow less!

These enormous food exports suggest serious thoughts concerning the future. The population of the Old World is still increasing without any possible extension of soil or corresponding increase of productiveness. Since the beginning of the century, one hundred and seventy-two millions of Europeans have grown to three hundred and sixty millions. This is an advance unprecedented in the history of the Old World. Without the enormous shipments of food from America and other countries, such an increase would probably have been impossible. The present consumption of food by Europe is vastly greater than

its production. The deficit per year of grain is three hundred and eighty million bushels, more than a bushel for every man, woman, and child in Europe; of meat the deficiency amounts to eight hundred and fifty-three thousand tons, six pounds for every man, woman, and child. The future growth of Europe, therefore, seems chiefly dependent upon supplies of food from abroad—mainly from America; every addition to the population must be fed for the most part from without. The United Kingdom is particularly thus dependent. It is estimated that nearly one-half of the whole population already live on imported food.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences of this fact, ever growing in importance. The social and economic changes involved may be of the most radical character. No doubt, as Mr. Caird and other eminent authorities state, by better and more thorough cultivation the soil of Europe, and especially that of Britain, can be made to yield an increase, but this can be obtained only at greater cost and to a small extent. The proportion of Europeans dependent for food upon the New World will probably increase from year to year. Happily, there is no question as to its undeveloped resources, which are capable of extension quite sufficient to meet any possible demand for a period, if not quite as far as we are tempted to look ahead, certainly quite as far as we can see ahead, which is a very different matter. When we think over the changes produced during sixty years' march of this Republic, we must surely hesitate to speculate beyond what the next sixty years are to bring, and for this period ahead at least we can see that America can give Europe all the food it will require. Beyond that

let posterity manage for itself. The man who is always telling you what he would have done "if he had been there" in any given emergency is he who never gets there. And none of my readers will ever "get there" to the day when the Republic cannot respond to any call made upon her for agricultural products. Millions and millions of fertile acres, under sunny skies and watered with refreshing showers, or more regular irrigation, still lie before us, only waiting "to be tickled with a hoe to smile with a harvest."

CHAPTER XV

MANUFACTURES

"In a general way, it may safely be predicted that the nation which has the most varied industry is likely, all other things being equal, to be the most prosperous, powerful, and contented. Agriculture, though the first and most essential of all callings, is still far from yielding the best results from a commercial and industrial point of view."—JEANS, *England's Supremacy.*

THE great truth stated above by Mr. Jeans was well known to the fathers of the Republic. From Washington to Monroe, the early Presidents took every occasion to urge upon the nation the necessity for developing varied industries. In our day, to say that a nation is solely agricultural is to exclude it from the first rank altogether. The first-class power of the future must be a manufacturing nation, and it is therefore a matter for sincere congratulation that the Republic has become the greatest in the world.

The story of manufacturing during the last decade is told in two lines:

Value of manufactures, 1880 . .	$5,369,579,191
1890 . .	8,700,000,000

This increase has taken place in the face of a decided fall in values. The actual increase in amount of manufactures was much greater than the increase in value given above.

It has not been by luck that the new country has succeeded, but by labor.

"What men call luck,
Is the prerogative of valiant souls."

Only through many years of experiment, ending in many cases with failure, and then by renewed efforts, has success been achieved.

The steady progress of American manufactures is indicated by their ever-increasing ratio to population.

The product value per inhabitant for six decades is as follows:

1840	$27.8	1870	$87.8
1850	43.9	1880	107.0
1860	59.9	1890	138.9

These figures show an increase in fifty years of more than five times the product value per inhabitant, notwithstanding a great decline in prices.

It is interesting to note that as the country became more densely settled, the value of manufactures relative to agriculture increased. In 1850 the capital invested in manufactures was about thirteen per cent. of that in agriculture. In 1860 it was thirteen per cent.; in 1870, nineteen per cent.; in 1880 it reached twenty-three per cent., or nearly one-fourth that of agriculture, and at present it is fully one-fourth. In 1870 the net value of the products of manufacture was seventy-one per cent. of the value of agricultural products; in 1880 the proportion had risen to eighty-nine per cent., and at present it is doubtless equal to it. So that, great as the growth of agriculture has been—and the world has never before

seen the like—the growth of manufactures has been even greater. No statement in this book will probably cause so much surprise as that the young Republic, and not Great Britain, is to-day the greatest manufacturing nation of the world, for she is generally credited with being greatest only in agriculture.

Subjoined is a carefully prepared estimate of the manufactures in the United States from the recently published census returns:

MANUFACTURES FOR 1890.

Capital	$4,600,000,000
Employees (number)	4,300,000
Wages	$1,800,000,000
Materials	5,500,000,000
Products	8,700,000,000

The annual product of each operative has advanced in value, according to this conservative estimate, from $1,064 in 1850 to $2,023 in 1890, a result largely due to improvement in methods and machinery. This cause, joined to the increase in the number of workers, resulted in an advance of total value of manufactures from $1,019,109,616 in 1850 to $8,700,000,000 in 1890—an increase of seven hundred and fifty-four per cent. in forty years. During the same period the increase of British manufactures was little more than a hundred per cent. Their total value in 1888 was only $4,100,000,000 (£820,000,000).

Attention has been called elsewhere in these pages to the fact that within a generation great industrial changes have taken place, changes which in magnitude almost amount to a revolution. These consist in the substitution

of mechanical power for manual labor, and of machinery for human skill, throughout almost the entire range of manufactures. It is worth while to examine this matter by the aid of the census statistics, and to learn what influence it has had upon capital on the one hand and labor on the other. It is unfortunate that for this purpose the complete statistics of 1890 on this subject are not available, but we have sufficient data to assure us that whatever indications are given by earlier censuses will be still further emphasized when the figures of the eleventh census are all published.

The obvious result is that manufacturing industries have been concentrated and enlarged. While the number of establishments has increased considerably, the capital has increased in vastly greater proportion, so that the average capital per establishment is much larger. Thus in 1850 the average capital per establishment was only $4,300; in 1860 it was $7,200; in 1870, $8,400; and in 1880 not less than $11,000. In thirty years the average capital per establishment nearly trebled in amount. The returns for 1890 will show that this movement has proceeded with no less rapidity between 1880 and 1890.

It is surprising to find that the census returns always show a decrease of net product in proportion to capital invested. Thus in 1850 the increase in value due to the manufacturing process was eighty-seven per cent. upon the invested capital; in 1860 it dropped to eighty-four per cent.; in 1870 to eighty-two per cent., and in 1880 to seventy-one per cent. In 1890, based on the returns from 137 large cities, it was seventy-seven per cent. This does not result from the introduction of more costly

machinery, for in my experience the more there is spent upon machinery and improved methods, the greater is the percentage of net product. The decreased percentage in proportion to capital invested arises from the fact that immense manufacturing concerns must possess more invested capital proportionately to their product than small concerns. The latter trade more upon borrowed capital, the former upon capital invested; a few hundreds of thousands may be safely borrowed, but not millions. Besides this, the manufacturing concerns of today, generally speaking, both great and small, have much more "invested capital" than ever before in proportion to borrowed capital.

Cheap articles for the consumer mean their production upon a great scale. It is in vain that the small manufacturer hopes to compete with the gigantic establishment. Steel selling at one cent per pound means the production of thousands of tons per day in one great establishment, under one management, comprising every process from the mining of the fuel and ironstone to the finished article. One of the wonders of modern manufacturing always seems to me to be this: Two pounds of ironstone mined upon Lake Superior and transported nine hundred miles to Pittsburgh; one pound and a half of coal, mined, manufactured into coke, and transported to Pittsburgh; one-half pound of lime, mined and transported to Pittsburgh; a small amount of manganese ore, mined in Virginia and brought to Pittsburgh—and these four pounds of materials manufactured into one pound of steel, for which the consumer pays one cent. One pound of steel for one cent!—such is the effect of healthful competition.

The result of the change from hand labor to machinery has been very beneficial to labor. In 1850 the average amount of yearly earnings per hand was $247; in 1860, $290; in 1870, reduced to a gold standard, $302; in 1880, $347; and in 1890 it had risen to $419. The increase in wages per hand in forty years has been sixty-eight per cent., and the work required has been in every respect less laborious.

It is often claimed that the lion's share of the profits of manufacturing goes to capital, and that this share is constantly increasing. What does the census say about this? In 1850 fifty-one per cent. of the net product of manufactures was paid in wages; in 1860 this had dropped to forty-five per cent.; in 1870 it was the same; in 1880 it had risen to forty-eight per cent. The returns thus far published of wages for the eleventh census indicate that sixty-four per cent. went to the laborer in 1890.

The introduction of machinery, which produces so much more than manual labor, might have been expected to greatly reduce the percentage of the total cost of products paid to labor. It does not, however, appear that machinery so far has reduced the proportion paid to labor in proportion to the number of men displaced, but this is fully accounted for, since we see that the class of labor employed, though not so numerous, is much more skilful, and commands an increase of wages per head.

The proportion of the total product which went to pay interest and profit upon capital, after deducting cost of materials and labor, was in 1850 equal to forty-three per cent. of the invested capital; in 1860 it had risen a trifle

and was forty-seven per cent.; in 1870 it was forty-six; in 1880 it was only thirty-seven per cent.; in 1890 it was thirty-six per cent. In the light of these figures, which of course are not absolutely correct, but which, tending all in one direction, may be assumed correctly to indicate the result, we see that the introduction of machinery, while it decreases the number employed, greatly increases the wages earned per head; besides this, it relieves workmen from the hardest and most wearing part of the work.

A summary of one hundred and thirty-seven cities for which census bulletins have already been published shows the following remarkable results:

Total value of gross product . .	$5,536,406,768
Value of product less raw material .	2,596,937,553
Aggregate capital	3,358,918,270
Total wages paid	1,384,267,818
Value of net product . . .	2,183,068,561

With such a magnificent showing as the above for one hundred and thirty-seven cities there can be but little doubt that the estimate of $8,700,000,000 value of product of manufactures is below rather than above what the eleventh census will show. It may also be noted that the average number of persons employed in the manufacturing industries of these cities was 2,578,091, almost equal to the total number of employees for the entire United States as returned by the census of 1880. The gross product per hand was $2,147.48; the product per hand less raw material was $1,007.31; the total number of establishments, 168,734; the average capital per establishment, $19,906.59; the average amount of yearly earnings

per hand was $536.94, as against $346.91, average yearly earnings per hand in 1880 for the whole country. The increase per cent. of average yearly earnings was 54.78; the per cent. of net product paid in wages was 63.41.

Here is a most instructive table:

PRELIMINARY TOTALS FOR SEVENTY-FIVE LEADING CITIES BY THE CENSUS OF 1890, COMPARED WITH TOTALS PUBLISHED FOR THE SAME CITIES BY THE CENSUS OF 1880:

YEAR.	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS.	CAPITAL.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF HANDS.
1890 . .	150,997	$2,900,735,884	2,251,134
1880 . .	71,445	1,232,839,670	1,301,388

YEAR.	WAGES.	COST OF MATERIALS.	VALUE OF PRODUCTS.
1890 . .	$1,221,170,454	$2,585,153,045	$4,860,286,837
1880 . .	501,965,778	1,711,240,471	2,711,579,899

Deducting from totals of the census of 1890 the industries not reported for 1880, the actual increase is really astonishing.

AMOUNT OF INCREASE.

Number of establishments	62,912
Capital	$1,522,745,604
Number of hands	856,029
Wages	$677,943,929
Cost of materials	818,505,661
Value of products	2,024,236,166

In number of establishments the percentage of increase from 1880 to 1890 is 88.06; the amount of capital [redacted]

123.52 per cent.; the average number of hands increase, 65.78 per cent.; amount of wages paid increase, 135.06 per cent.; the cost of materials has increased 47.83 per cent., and the value of products 74.65 per cent. Wages have increased not only actually but relatively; the average wages for all classes of employees, including officers and firm members, piece-workers, etc., increased from $386 in 1880 to $547 in 1890, or 41.71 per cent.

An industry which has attained gigantic proportions during the half century under review is that of flouring and grist mills. The product in 1880 exceeded $500,000,000 (£100,000,000). The capital invested in this industry was $177,400,000 (nearly £36,000,000), and there were in operation more than twenty-four thousand flouring and grist mills with a daily capacity of nearly five million bushels—sufficient, if need be, to grind flour for not only the population of the Republic, but for three hundred million Europeans, who annually consume one billion three hundred and forty-seven million bushels. To-day, with the greatly increased production of wheat, it is proportionately greater.

The statistics for twenty-five cities, according to the eleventh census, show that in flouring and grist mills the number of establishments increased in these ten years 11.44 per cent.; the capital invested, 94.38 per cent.; the average number of hands employed, 58.99 per cent.; the total amount paid in wages, 69.29 per cent.; and the value of the product, 14.65 per cent.

The industry next in importance, judging by the value of the product, is slaughtering and meat packing. Though of comparatively recent origin, this industry has attained enormous proportions for the entire country.

The capital employed in 1880 was about fifty millions of dollars, and employment was furnished to more than twenty-seven thousand hands, whose wages amounted to $10,500,000 (£2,100,000), an average of nearly $400 (£80) each. The beeves slaughtered numbered over one million seven hundred thousand; sheep, two million two hundred thousand; hogs, sixteen millions. This was enough to give every man, woman, and child in America and Great Britain half a pound of meat thrice a week for a year. That this industry has undergone vast developments in the past ten years is shown by the attention paid to the pastoral interests; farming stock was increased greatly during the ten years ending in 1890. Though the magnitude of the work and the additional care which has been exercised in the preparation of the manufacturing statistics of the eleventh census have delayed complete returns in some lines of industry, the figures already given and accessible in the several bulletins show that in seventeen of the principal cities the number of establishments employed in slaughtering and meat packing has increased 121.58 per cent. from 1880 to 1890; the capital, 240.97 per cent.; the average number of hands, 136.19 per cent.; the total amount paid in wages, 211.72 per cent.; and the value of the product has increased 110.49 per cent.

It is at Chicago that the traveller sees the murderous work going on upon the grandest scale, for that city is the great slaughter-house of the country. In 1890 six and a half million pigs were turned into pork, and a million cattle "packed." So rapidly is this industry increasing that in Chicago alone two and a half million cattle were killed. In addition, one and a half million

sheep were slaughtered. The total value of the products of this industry in Chicago in the year 1890 was over two hundred millions of dollars. The perfection of the machinery employed is illustrated by the claim Chicagoans make for it, viz.: that you can see a living hog driven into the machine at one end, and the hams from it delivered at the other before the squeal of the animal is out of your ears. But, as Matthew Arnold said when asked to see this verified, or at least the foundation upon which the story rests, "Why should I see pigs killed! Why should I hear pigs squeal!" He declined. My readers can therefore see, if so inclined, one of the sights that a distinguished traveller missed, which is always a great advantage.

The census statistics of 1890 of slaughtering and meat packing for the city of Chicago show a decrease in the number of establishments since 1880 of 2.86 per cent.; an increase in the capital of 373.24 per cent.; an increase in the average number of hands employed of 139.07 per cent.; an increase in the total wages paid of 225.15 per cent., and an increase in the value of product of 138.88 per cent.

The iron and steel industries rank highest in value, the product for 1890 being $830,000,000 (£166,000,000). The production of pig-iron has increased at a prodigious rate. The output for 1890 was ten and three-tenths millions of net tons, nearly thirty times the quantity produced in 1840.

In 1870 the United States was much below France or Germany in the manufacture of steel; ten years later it produced more than these countries combined. She now makes more than a third of all the iron and steel of the

world, and leads all other countries, as will be seen from the following summary:

COUNTRIES.	PIG-IRON. 1890.	STEEL. 1890.
	(Gross tons.)	(Gross tons.)
United States	9,202,703	4,277,071
Great Britain	7,904,214	3,679,043
Germany and Luxemburg	4,658,451	2,232,099
France	1,970,160	704,013
Belgium	781,958	239,266
Austria-Hungary	925,308	440,605
Other countries	1,525,674	683,802
Total of world	26,968,468	12,255,899
Percentage produced by the United States	34.2	34.9

Probably the most rapid development of an industry that the world has ever seen is that of Bessemer steel in America. In 1870 there were made only sixty-four thousand tons of all kinds of steel; of this, only forty thousand tons were Bessemer. Twelve years later, 1882, the product was one million two hundred and fifty thousand tons. This is advancing not by leaps and bounds; it is one grand rush—a rush without pause, which has made America the greatest manufacturer of Bessemer steel in the world. In 1890 the Republic made 4,131,535 tons of Bessemer steel, which was more than double that of Great Britain. In steel rails her superiority is more marked. The output of Great Britain was not over three-fourths of a million tons, against 2,091,978 made in the United States.

Pennsylvania, as we have seen, wears the iron crown, nearly one-half the capital being invested in that State. She makes forty-eight per cent. of the total product.

Ohio ranks second, and Alabama follows, with Illinois closely treading on her heels.

The future of the iron and steel industries in America is highly encouraging. Recent discoveries in the Mesabi district on Lake Superior assure us continued abundance of the essential article, ironstone. In Colorado, steel is now being made in considerable quantities, and future developments there seem certain. In the Southern States great increase is shown in the yield of pig-iron, which, however, is usually shipped North and West. No further decided increase of production is likely to occur in the South until means are devised for producing steel from the ores of that region.

The extension of the area of the iron and steel industry is rapidly going on, as new ore deposits are discovered and new demands are created, but a great increase of population must take place near the recently established works in the new regions before their aggregate product can reach a high figure. Pennsylvania will probably increase her iron and steel product for some time as fast as these new districts.

The last decade has witnessed the growth of aluminum to an extraordinary degree. In this the Republic has occupied the front rank. In 1886 an American, Mr. Hall, applied for a patent covering the decomposition by electricity in a fluid bath of certain ingredients which reduced the cost of this wonderful metal fully one-half. He is to be credited with the vital invention. The practical application of this process was in a large measure due to the ability and energy of Captain Hunt, of Pittsburgh, president of the company which works it. Messrs. Cowles also had in the year previous (1885) invented an

electric furnace in which aluminum was directly decomposed, and these two processes are still operated in the United States.

There is one concern in France making about three hundred pounds a day, and another in Great Britain making about the same. The principal foreign work, however, making about as much as both the others, is on the beautiful Falls of the Rhine, which it utilizes. Farewell poetry and romance! The American, however, is not to be behind; he is about to establish new works and utilize the Falls of Niagara. The product of the rest of the world is thus about twelve hundred pounds per day; the capacity of the Pittsburgh works is fully double that of all the world besides.

Thus the development of electrical force, the work of Americans, has rendered possible the production of aluminum in such quantities and at such cost as to make it one of our most useful metals. It is clear that in this department the American has scored another triumph.

The exhaustion of the coal supply has troubled many anxious writers, but evidences are not wanting that electricity, produced by water-power, is coming forward rapidly as a substitute. This shows the folly of poor, anxious man peering into a future of which he cannot imagine the conditions, and lends power to the good text, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

The manufacture of tin plate has been reëstablished in the United States during the decade, and six millions of capital have already been invested in it. It is probable that we are to secure a home supply of that indispensable article. Our consumption of tin plate amounts to about 600,000,000 pounds per annum, more than all the rest of

the world consumes, it is said. In twenty years, 1871-91, we paid for tin plate to foreigners the enormous sum of $307,341,000. An estimate of the capacity of the works now established shows a probable output of 300,000,000 pounds per annum, one-half of our total consumption.

The decade is to be credited with one of the most notable triumphs ever achieved in manufacturing, viz.: that of plate glass. The first attempts to manufacture this article were made in Massachusetts in 1852, and from that date up to 1879 no commercial success was attained. The attempt to establish this important industry was one succession of financial disasters for fourteen years. The discovery of natural gas, however, enabled the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company to begin operations in 1883. The three works of that company now produce one-third of a square mile of polished plate per annum. The American is fully equal to the best foreign. This branch of glass-making is at present the most prosperous because it is here that American genius has had the greatest scope. Most of the operations are now performed by machinery. There are eight plants in full operation and four more in course of construction. The importations of plate are rapidly passing away. In 1892 less than one million square feet were imported, while in this country we produced 14,000,000 square feet. In a short time the Republic, which recently imported every foot of plate glass, will not only supply all its wants but will begin to export to other countries.

Closely following the iron and steel manufactures comes the lumber trade, an industry peculiarly American. Since 1850 the value of the annual product has increased many fold, the capital employed having advanced propor-

tionally. In 1880 this industry gave employment to one hundred and forty-eight thousand hands, who received wages to the amount of nearly $32,000,000 (£6,400,000). The product was worth $233,268,729 (£46,653,745). The principal seat of this industry is the Lake States, including Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, a region which fifty years ago had not been invaded by the wood-cutter. The capital invested in the lumber trade in Michigan was $111,000,000 (£22,200,000) in 1890, or more than one-fifth of the total lumber investment of the country. The amount of standing timber cut by lumber manufacturers in 1890 in the three principal lumbering States, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, was upward of one billion cubic feet. This is exclusive of many millions of railroad ties, staves, and sets of headings out of inferior wood. In the Southern States the annual cut is very large and is rapidly increasing, but the supply is practically inexhaustible; it is estimated that there remains standing not less than two hundred and sixteen billion feet. But full statistics of the enormous quantities of wood available in the various States are unattainable. Texas is said to have twenty-one billion feet of loblolly pine, while the cut is proportionally trifling. At the present rate of cutting, the timber area of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota will last, allowing for growth, from twenty to twenty-five years; but that of the South, which is many times as great, is ample for an indefinite period. Enormous forests are being opened in Washington, Oregon, and northern California, and the lumber industry of those States is being rapidly developed. The cutting of trees will be conducted more methodically in the future than in the past, and there is little danger o[redacted]

diminishing. There are vast regions in America where the raising of timber is the only crop possible, and other places where trees can be more profitably grown than anything else, so that there need be no apprehension either that the forests will be totally destroyed or that the supply of merchantable timber will fail. The quality and variety of American woods are almost too well known to need emphasis. The ash, cherry, maple, oak, walnut, and many other valuable varieties are exported to Europe, cut and shaped, ready to be put together as finished work.

The wealth of America's forests is illustrated by the collection of native woods in the New York Museum of Natural History, which comprises more than four hundred varieties. The wealth of the Republic would be but partially estimated if, upon Uncle Sam's great estate, we omitted the "growing timber," from the live oak of southern Florida up to "the huge pine, hewn on (not Norwegian but) Northwestern hills."

The value in 1890 of lumber and other mill products from logs or bolts is given in preliminary census reports as $323,134,009.

This represents the market value of the product of upward of three billion cubic feet of standing timber, in addition to which there was exported a large quantity of timber products not manufactured at mill, besides the enormous quantity annually consumed for domestic use and fuel, railroad ties, fencing, etc.

The returns for the eleventh census of the combined textile industries, consisting of wool, cotton, silk, and dyeing and finishing, generally show remarkable progress in the decade from 1880 to 1890. The following table

gives the wool, cotton, and silk industries in the United States from 1850 to 1890 by decades:

PROGRESS OF THE COMBINED TEXTILE INDUSTRIES, WOOL, COTTON, AND SILK, IN THE UNITED STATES.

YEAR.	NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS.	CAPITAL INVESTED.	HANDS EMPLOYED.
1890 . .	3,866	$701,522,861	491,630
1880 . .	3,827	386,497,515	367,553
1870 . .	4,498	279,389,508	260,563
1860 . .	3,336	141,068,286	185,466
1850 . .	2,804	103,842,616	135,586

YEAR.	WAGES PAID.	COST OF ALL MATERIALS.	VALUE OF PRODUCT.
1890 . .	$165,830,332	$392,790,706	$674,904,847
1880 . .	98,576,302	289,045,599	500,376,068
1870 . .	81,352,653	253,709,110	407,249,327
1860 . .	37,580,181	104,749,928	198,436,114
1850 . .		62,100,020	111,546,810

In dyeing and finishing textiles, the total number of establishments in the United States has increased from 191 in 1880 to 248 in 1890, an increase of 29.84 per cent.; the capital invested has increased from $26,223,981 in 1880 to $38,450,800 in 1890, or 46.62 per cent.; the average number of hands has increased from 16,698 in 1880 to 20,267 in 1890, or 21.37 per cent.; the total amount paid in wages has increased from $6,474,364 in 1880 to $9,717,011 in 1890, or 50.08 per cent.; the value of the product has decreased from $32,297,420 in 1880 to $28,900,560 in 1890, or 10.52 per cent.

The increase of silk manufacture values since 1880 has been no less than 100 per cent.; that of cotton ranking

second, 40 per cent.; that of wool manufacture being 26 per cent. The average increase in the entire textile industry is 39 per cent.

The manufacturers of silk in the Republic are especially to be congratulated. They have doubled the value of the product during the past ten years, notwithstanding prices fell twenty-five per cent. In 1880 it was thirty-four and one-half millions of dollars; in 1890 sixty-nine millions of dollars. But their success is not measured even by this showing. It is in the greater variety and better quality and finish of American silks that they have won their chief laurels. I visited Marshall Field's gigantic establishment in Chicago a short time ago, and was shown the stock of silks. Comparisons were made between the foreign and home article in various grades, and the latter pronounced the better article. I cannot do better than submit a comparative record for ten years:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE SILK MANUFACTURE.

GENERAL HEADS.	1890.	1880.	Percentage of increase.
Number of establishments reported	472	382	23.56
Capital invested	$51,007,537	$19,125,300	166.70
Number of hands employed	50,913	31,337	62.47
Amount of wages paid	$19,680,318	$9,146,705	115.16
Miscellaneous expenses	4,345,032		
Cost of materials used	35,381,496	18,569,166	90.54
Value of product	69,154,599	34,519,723	100.33
Number of spindles	1,254,798	508,137	146.94
Number of looms	22,569	8,474	166.33

It will be noted that while the product increased one hundred per cent., wages paid increased one hundred and

fifteen per cent., and the amount to each employee was also increased to $387 in 1890 as compared with $292 in 1880. Improved methods in machinery are met with here as everywhere in the manufacturing domain. In 1880 there were still 3,153 hand looms at work; in 1890 only 1,747. These are being replaced by power looms of the latest description. The American manufacturer is constantly conquering new fields. During the decade velvets and plushes, hitherto exclusively imported, are manufactured at home to the extent of three million dollars' worth. The wants of the country are being supplied to a greater extent by the home manufacturers. The imports of silk goods from abroad in 1880 amounted to thirty and one-half millions of dollars; in 1890 to thirty-six and one-half millions of dollars, showing an increase of about twenty per cent. As we have seen above, the home producer increased his product one hundred per cent. America now supplies fifty-five per cent. of the silk used in this country. It is gratifying to find that the silk manufacture is gradually spreading into more States. Colorado and Illinois doubled the number of their establishments during the decade.

The rapidity with which the American silk manufacturer is conquering his own market is best seen by the statement that, beginning with 1860, only thirteen per cent. of the silks used were made at home; in 1870, twenty-three per cent.; in 1880, thirty-eight per cent.; and now, in 1890, for the first time the home product exceeds the foreign imported—being fifty-five per cent. The next decade promises to show a continuance of this gratifying increase in the manufacture of American silk. I hear many American ladies say that silks and silk ribbons can

now be purchased about as cheaply in New York as in London or Paris.

Cotton manufactures have increased rapidly in some other lands, but nowhere so rapidly as in America. Those of England in 1880 were nearly six times greater than in 1830; those of America were eighteen and a half times greater. The competition of mother and child lands in this important industry is briefly shown by the following table, which also shows the small amount consumed by other countries:

CONSUMPTION OF COTTON IN MILLION POUNDS.

COUNTRIES.	1830.	1840.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Great Britain	250	454	1,140	1,101	1,404	1,579
United States	52	135	410	530	961	1,193
Germany	56	120	220	260	390	
France	87	110	215	250	340	
Various	162	231	286	239	649	
	607	1,050	2,271	2,380	3,744	

There were used in home manufacture in 1890 in the United States 1,193,000,000 pounds, against 1,579,000,000 pounds in the mother country.

It appears from the above that the cotton industries of America have increased three times as fast as those of the rest of the world. The motherland still leads in the race. Grand, plucky, little racer! One dislikes to see a big, overgrown giant chasing her, but let her not be discouraged. The giant is her own son and bodes no harm. She taught him of what his strain is capable. The first prize will still remain in the family.

At the beginning of the century, although the cotton

crop was only one-seventy-seventh of that in 1890, only two per cent. of it was manufactured at home. Thirty-three per cent. of the enormous crop of 1891 was consumed in mills in the United States. This increased working up at home of our products diminishes foreign commerce, but increases both home commerce and home manufactures. In this, as in many other industries, we see the parent and child land in friendly rivalry absorbing the great bulk, and leaving the rest of the world nowhere in the race. Thus the two nations combined take two-thirds of the whole of the cotton crop, and leave but one-third for the rest of the world. The capital invested in cotton manufacture in the United States in 1890 was $354,000,000; the number of operatives, 218,876, who received in wages $66,024,538. The value of the product was $268,000,000. Compared with the figures of the previous decade, the capital shows seventy per cent. increase; number of looms, forty-four; number of operatives, twenty-seven per cent.; and cotton consumed, forty-nine per cent. increase. It is a note-worthy fact that the American method of cotton manufacture is the most economical of labor in the world. An American operative deals with one-sixth more material than the British operative, one-third more than the German, two and a half times as much as the French or Austrian, and five times as much as the Russian. This may be in part explained by the fact that the proportion of men is greater in American than in European factories; though the superior nature of American machinery is the main cause of difference. The native American, and even the acclimatized European, is not content to remain in any position which he thinks can be well or better filled by a

machine. If there is no such machine in existence, he sets his wits to work and invents one, and the patent laws of the country give him ample protection at a merely nominal cost. This is the chief reason why America produces more per head than any other country.

The cotton industry shows steady growth, even in New England, but it is in the Southern States that its growth during the past decade is notable. The following table from the census bulletin tells the story of the decade:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE.

GENERAL HEADS.	1890.	1880.	Percentage of increase.
Number of establishments reported	905	756	19.71
Capital invested	$354,020,843	$208,280,346	69.97
Number of hands employed (officers and clerks not included)	218,876	172,544	26.85
Number of officers and clerks	2,709	2,115	28.09
Amount of wages paid (amount paid officers and clerks not included)	$66,024,538	$42,040,510	57.05
Amount of wages paid to officers and clerks	$3,464,734		
Miscellaneous expenses	$17,036,135		
Cost of materials used	154,593,368	102,206,347	51.26
Value of product	267,981,724	192,090,110	39.51
Number of spindles	14,088,103	10,653,435	32.24
Number of looms	324,866	225,759	43.90
Pounds of raw cotton consumed	1,117,945,776	750,343,981	48.99

We have the same result in regard to wages here as in other branches of manufacture. Earnings increased from $244 per annum to $302, an increase of twenty-four per cent.

The increase in the number of spindles reported is 3,434,668, divided geographically as shown in the following table:

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	SPINDLES.	INCREASE.
	Number.	Per cent.
New England States	2,104,068	24.37
Middle States	242,558	17.44
Southern States	1,011,952	186.69
Western States	76,090	86.33

It will be seen that the increase of spindles in the Southern States was one hundred and eighty-seven per cent.; the Western States, eighty-six per cent.; while the increase in the New England and Middle States was relatively small.

The total value of cotton goods manufactured in the United States, 1890, was two hundred and sixty-eight millions of dollars, as compared with one hundred and ninety-two millions in 1880. We still import about twenty-eight millions of dollars' worth every year, so that the home manufacturer has about nine-tenths of the whole field. The total amount of piece goods manufactured is more than three thousand million square yards, almost enough to cover an area of one thousand square miles, and more than enough to encircle the earth at the equator a yard broad sixty-eight times.

The increased value of woollen goods manufactured in 1890 was twenty-two and one-half per cent. greater than in 1880, but as the amount of capital invested increased eighty-seven per cent., the quantity produced must have been correspondingly great. This small increase in value is accounted for in the great fall in prices of woollen

goods which has taken place. It is gratifying to find the increase of capital in this industry among the Southern States. Alabama and Texas increased fourfold, Kentucky threefold, Georgia almost as much; Delaware more than twofold; Mississippi fully fivefold; Tennessee threefold; North Carolina, doubled; even Utah almost doubled, and old Virginia more than doubled.

The following table gives briefly a comparison with 1880:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ALL BRANCHES OF WOOL MANUFACTURE, EXCEPTING SHODDY.

GENERAL HEADS.	1890.	1880.	Percentage of Increase.
Number of establishments reported	2,489	2,689	7.44*
Capital invested	$296,983,164	$159,091,869	86.67
Value of hired property	17,326,780		
Number of hands employed	221,087	161,557	36.84
Wages paid	76,768,871	47,389,087	62.00
Miscellaneous expenses	19,547,200		
Cost of materials used	203,095,642	164,371,551	23.56
Value at factory of goods manufactured	338,231,109	267,252,913	26.56

We meet with the march of improvement in the woollen industry as in all others. Of two hundred and sixty-seven mills reported idle, the great majority are equipped with old-fashioned machinery, and therefore unable to compete with the new improvements. We notice the rapid substitution of power looms for hand looms. In 1890 only three thousand one hundred and five of the latter remained. The total value of woollen goods annually

* Decrease.

imported amount to between thirty-five and forty-one millions of dollars, these being of the very finest grades. As the home product in 1890 was three hundred and thirty-eight millions, the Republic clothes itself with home woollen products to the amount of nine-tenths of its total consumption. But it imports foreign raw wool to the extent of eighteen to twenty millions of dollars to mix with its own domestic wool.

Since 1860 woollen manufacture has increased tenfold, an increase many times as great as that of Britain, which during the same period was only fifty-six per cent. In 1888 the United States compared with Britain in product as follows:

	MILLION POUNDS OF WOOL USED.	VALUE OF PRODUCT.
United Kingdom	412	$215,000,000
United States	434	321,000,000

Since 1888 the Republic has left her parent far in the rear. In 1887–8 about four hundred and thirty-four million pounds of wool were consumed in the United States, and three hundred and twenty million pounds of this was grown at home. The woollen production is now about six times greater than it was twenty-five years ago; and already exportations are assuming important figures. Uncle Sam may be destined soon to clothe as well as to feed his European brother.

The capital invested in woollen manufacture in 1890 was $297,000,000, having nearly doubled in the ten years since 1880. The number of establishments was 2,489, and the hands employed two hundred and twenty-one thou-

sand, who received wages to the amount of $76,800,000, an average of nearly $350 each. The cost of materials used was two hundred and three millions, and the value of the product $338,000,000 (£67,600,000). Although between 1880 and 1890 the capital invested increased nearly one hundred per cent., the number of establishments actually diminished; another proof that as machinery is improved and elaborated, its cost tends to put small capitalists out of the competition, and to increase the average size of the manufacturing establishments. That concentration of labor into larger establishments occurred, is shown by an increase of one hundred and forty per cent. in the average capital per establishment, and an increase of eighty-two per cent. in number of hands. We find the same result in the woollen as in the silk manufacture, viz.: that the American manufacturer is steadily improving in quality and increasing in quantity of his product. But while his silk colleague has still forty-five per cent. of the home market to conquer, the woollen manufacturer has only left a small fraction to the foreigner.

In the carpet trade we have another example of the concentration of capital and labor in large establishments. One is startled to find that more yards of carpet are manufactured in and around the city of Philadelphia alone than in the whole of Great Britain. It is not thirty years since the American imported his carpets, and now he makes more at one point than the greatest European manufacturing nation does in all its territory. Truly the old lands are fast becoming petty little communities; their populations so small, their products so trifling, in comparison with those of the Giant of the West!

In 1870 the value of the carpet product was $21,761,573. In 1890, 74,770,910 square yards of carpet were manufactured; over twenty-nine thousand hands were employed, and the value of the product was $47,770,193. Even this does not represent the increase, because prices have fallen steadily, as the manufacture in this country became firmly rooted. The growth of this branch is more clearly seen from the fact that the amount of wages paid has nearly doubled in the ten years between 1880 and 1890. A remarkable change in this industry is the manufacture of rugs and druggets, which are being made here of most artistic patterns. In 1870 the census had no record of their manufacture; in 1880 only 47,530 were reported; in 1890 the number reaches 1,563,303. Of course, the United States stands first in carpet manufacture. The chief reason for this is that the demand is so much greater here than in any other part of the world. The masses of the working people here use carpets, whereas in European countries they are not thought of as necessities, but are the luxuries of the few.

The wife of a prominent member of the British Parliament astonished the company, and especially her husband, one night at dinner with us in Scotland, by stating that the next carpets she required would be purchased in Philadelphia. She had recently examined them in the Quaker City and found that there was nothing like them in England for equal money. Several Americans present, myself among the number, were not surprised, but the Britons opened their eyes. It is so difficult to convince them that the necessaries of life, including such articles as carpets, are really cheaper in the new than in the old land, as shown in the chapter on wages and cost of living.

The manufacture of boots and shoes is one of the oldest and most important industries of America. It is also one of the best developed—developed not simply in regard to size, but in perfection of methods. Here machinery seems to have reached its culmination. The human hand does little but guide the material from machine to machine, and the hammering, the stamping, and sewing are all done by the tireless energy of steam. It is not a romance to say that men put leather into the machine at one end, and it comes out a perfect-fitting boot at the other. By means of such a machine, a man can make three hundred pairs of boots in a day, and a single factory in Massachusetts turns out as many pairs yearly as thirty-two thousand bootmakers in Paris. In 1880 America had three thousand one hundred of these mechanical St. Crispins, making new pedal coverings every four months for fifty million people. The old-fashioned cobbler with last and "taching-end" is as surely doomed to extinction as the New Zealand Maori. Even the small capitalist who is willing to adopt the most approved methods when able, finds himself placed *hors de combat* by his stronger rivals. In 1870 America had three thousand one hundred and fifty-one bootmaking establishments, employing ninety-one thousand seven hundred and two men. Ten years later the workmen had increased to one hundred and eleven thousand one hundred and fifty-two, but the number of establishments had fallen to one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, a decrease of nearly thirty-eight per cent. Even yet machinery continues to be improved. In the decade ending 1880 the increased number of hands was but twenty-one and one-quarter per cent., but the increased value of products was forty-one

and a half per cent. The increase of capital was forty-three and one-quarter per cent. How far the concentration of capital is destined to go, no one can foretell. The survival of the fittest means here the survival of the most economical; and that large establishments are more economical than small ones is proved by the non-survival of the latter. It is probable that the only limit to the concentration of labor is that imposed by the capacity of the directing mind which presides over it.

Census totals for five of the principal cities show that the number of establishments engaged in the wholesale manufacture of women's clothing has increased, in the ten years from 1880 to 1890, one hundred and sixty-nine per cent.; the capital invested, one hundred and fourteen per cent.; the average number of hands, sixty-six per cent.; the total amount paid in wages, one hundred and eighty-six per cent.; and the value of the product, one hundred and two per cent.

Let any one stop for a moment at the windows of one of these establishments, which generally occupy entire squares in most of the cities, and notice at what extremely low prices quite respectable clothing is offered. If he be a British visitor few sights will more surprise him. Prices are generally below those of Britain, and the clothing is better made; the material may, however, not be quite so good, for a mixture of inferior stuff is suspected in the home product. Still it is excellent and serviceable, and is constantly improving in quality. There is seen in this branch another development of the wholesale idea, which gives America its good and cheap watches and many other things. In the manufacture of men's clothing men are divided into classes, and a thousand suits are cut

and sewed by machinery for each class from the same material. Only the misshapen man is now compelled to be measured and fitted by himself. The garments adapted for boys' wear offered by these wholesale manufacturers are so much more varied in style, and so much cheaper than can be obtained from smaller tailors, that this branch may be said to be entirely monopolized by the manufacturers. Prices are lower than those prevailing in Britain for similar garments. Not only the working classes but all except the few rich are fast becoming patrons of these ready-made establishments, which, it may be mentioned, do a strictly cash business. This in itself is one reason for their low prices, and exerts a decided influence for good upon the habits of the poorer people. Here again we have that law of concentration which seems inseparable from manufacturing, the smaller being constantly merged into the greater factories.

The power used in manufactures in the United States is equal to three million four hundred and ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven horse-power—a force capable of raising a weight of seventeen billion tons one foot high. Of this force sixty-four per cent. is steam-power and thirty-six per cent. water-power. The increase of total power between 1870 and 1880 was forty-five per cent. In the same time the increase in product of manufactures was fifty-eight per cent., another sign of improved machinery. The increase of power per hand in all branches of manufacture amounted to ten per cent., which indicates the extent of the transfer from manual to mechanical power during that period. In the decade ending in 1890 the increase in the product of manufactures will not be far short of one hundred per cent.

The transfer is still going on, and man is ever getting science to work more and more for him. A hundred years ago he did little but grow his corn, meat, and wool. Now inventive science cuts the corn, gathers, binds, threshes, grinds, bakes it into bread, and carries it to his door. The wool she spins, weaves, and sews into garments, and then stops not until she has placed it within the future wearer's reach, be he ever so far away. Or she will carry him wheresoever his lordly desire may lead him. Across continents and under seas she flies with his messages. Ever obedient, ever untiring, ever ready, she grows more responsive and willing in proportion as her lord makes more demands upon her. Already she has taken to herself the drudgery which long burdened man; and under triumphant Democracy she is ever seizing on other work to relieve him, and leave his life freer for happiness. In other lands men are not so happy. Instead of making conquests over nature, they strive for conquests over each other, incited thereto by selfish and conceited dynasties and aristocracies. But the end is near. It is probable that it is by an industrial conquest that feudalism and standing armies in Europe are to be overcome; and that has already begun. America, blessed land of peace, is inundating the world not only with her products, but with her gospel of the equality of man as man, and the old-time nations will soon be forced to divert their energies from war to peaceful work.

In another chapter we have shown the number of horses in the United States, but a nation's industrial power is to be rated these days by its horse-power of steam. And what a record the Republic has to show in this! The total horse-power of the whole of Europe is

given by Mulhall as 28,630,000; that of the United States, 14,400,000—one-half of the total of the continent of Europe, Britain's share being 9,200,000. In 1840 the United States and Great Britain were not far apart, the Republic then exceeding the Monarchy only 140,000. The increase of steam-power upon railways is even more startling. In 1840 the United Kingdom and the United States were each credited with 200,000. In 1888 the former had 3,500,000; the Republic, 9,300,000.

The position America has acquired as a manufacturer of not only the coarser products but of more artistic articles is remarkable. In all articles of silverware, for instance, no nation competes successfully with her. A New York establishment, which dwarfs all other similar establishments in the world, carried off the gold medal for artistic work in silver at the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and also of 1878; also the gold medal from the Emperor of Russia. It also obtained the gold medal at Paris in the last exhibition. In this branch, as in engraving, the Republican workman has achieved preëminence. This is but the beginning of his triumphs in the higher branches of art. Others are as certain to follow as the sun is to shine, for the manhood and intelligence of the workman and his position of equality in the State must find expression in his work.

We have an interesting example of republican success in another branch of manufacture—that of watches. It is not very long since all watches carried by Americans were imported. To-day America exports watches largely to most foreign countries and especially to Europe. These indispensable articles were formerly made by hand in small factories. Switzerland, that land of cheap labor, was the

principal seat of the manufacture. Forty years ago the American conceived the idea of making watches by machinery upon a gigantic scale. The principal establishment made only five watches per day as late as 1854. Now seventeen hundred per day is the daily task, and six thousand watches per month are sent to the London agency. Three other similar establishments, conducted upon the same general plan, are kept busily employed. In short the Republic is now the world's watchmaker. Notwithstanding the fact that labor is paid more than double that of Europe, the immense product, the superior skill of the workman, and the numerous American inventions connected with the business, enable the republican to outstrip all his rivals. It will soon be so in all articles which can be made of one pattern in great numbers, for in such cases the enormous home market of the American takes so much more of any article than the home market of any other manufacturer that he is enabled to carry on the business upon a gigantic scale, and dispose of his surplus abroad. In confirmation of this let us take the manufacture of thread, for which the two Scotch firms at Paisley, Scotland, are so justly celebrated the world over.

The pioneer firm began operations in Paisley in 1798; the other followed in 1820. They began to manufacture in the United States in 1866 and 1869. Yet their combined capital in works upon this side already about equals their capital in Paisley, the product of seventy years' growth. In other words, twenty-six years in the Republic has equalled seventy in Scotland. In twenty years more Clarke and Coates will each probably consider their original home works in dear old Paisley as but branches of the main works in the great Republic.

Another illustration of the same kind is seen in the manufacture of pig-iron. I can well remember raising a laugh not thirty years ago at the table of one of the Scotch iron kings, the Bairds, by prophesying that even their enormous product would soon be reached by a manufacturing concern in America. Where would the laugh be now? The whole of Scotland does not produce nearly as much to-day as the one American concern, and next decade the difference in favor of the republican establishment will be greater, as its capacity is constantly being increased to meet the swelling demands of the new country. So it is in almost every branch of manufacture, so rapidly is the child land dwarfing her illustrious mother.

In this rivalry the Republic has one inestimable advantage in the class of technically educated young men, trained at Stevens' Institute, Cornell University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and many similar institutions; these leave school while in their teens, or at least before manhood, take subordinate positions in manufacturing establishments, and soon rise. This class furnishes the best managers of the great works while still in their thirties. The members of the Iron Institute of Great Britain were more impressed by these young men than perhaps by anything seen during their visit to the United States. One of the principal manufacturers of Britain said to me: "It is not the machinery of your great works, nor the variety of your minerals, that we have to fear. It is the class of young men you can gather around you." During a recent visit of the President of the United States to Pittsburgh he was shown through the manufacturing establishments, and of course each manager and assistant manager and foreman was introduced to him

as he passed along. Late in the day, when the superintendent of the last works visited was introduced, he turned and said laughingly: "How is it you do not introduce anybody but boys to me?" "That is true, Mr. President, but do you take notice what kind of boys they are?" "Yes, hustlers," was President Harrison's reply.

The Republic has been in advance of Europe in developing this invaluable class. Upon a recent visit to Britain, however, it was pleasing to see the efforts now making by able manufacturers to follow our example.

With all his enterprise there is a strong element of prudence in the American. This is shown by the magnitude of the business done in insurance. Fire-insurance risks covered in 1889 amounted to no less than eleven thousand seven hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, the premiums paid for this insurance being one hundred and twenty-one millions of dollars.

It is in life insurance, perhaps, that we have the best evidence of the prudence of the republican. The amount of life-insurance policies written in the United States in 1890 was four thousand one hundred and one millions of dollars, an average of about sixty-seven dollars for every man, woman and child in the country, and about three hundred dollars for every head of a family. In Great Britain, with Canada and Australia added, the amount was only three-fourths as great, and the whole of Europe, exclusive of Great Britain, was only two thousand seven hundred and fifteen millions. Brother Jonathan, as will be seen, will be found very generally looking ahead and providing for his family in the event of his death.

Several of the insurance companies of Britain are said to do more business here than at home.

In Mr. Pidgeon's clever book, "Old World Questions and New World Answers," which is, upon the whole, the best book of its kind that I know of, we find the author unerringly placing his finger upon the one secret of the Republic's success, viz.: the respect in which labor is held. If I wished to indicate one of the sharpest contrasts between men in the world, I should say that which exists between the artisan in monarchical Britain and republican America. I echo every word Mr. Pidgeon says:

"Gloze it over as we may, there is a great gulf fixed between the ideas of Old and New England on this radical question of the dignity of work. Our industrial occupations consist, speaking generally, of mere money-spinning. The places where, and the people by whom, we carry them on, are cared for economically, and that is all. It is not in our business, but by our 'position,' that we shine in the eyes of ourselves and our neighbors. The social code of this country drives, yearly, numbers of young men, issuing from our public schools and universities, either into the over-crowded learned professions or into government clerkships, whose narrow round of irresponsible duties benumbs originality, and weakens self-reliance. Capable, educated girls are pining for a 'career' in England, while posts, even the most important, are filled in New England by 'young ladies,' the equals of ours in everything which that phrase denotes, and their superiors in all the qualities that are born of effort and self-help. It is no one's fault, and I am not going to rail at the inevitable. We were originally a feudal country, and cannot escape the influence of our traditions. The man who does service for another was a 'villein' in the feudal times, and is an 'inferior' now; just as a man of no occupation is a 'gentleman,' and a governess a 'person.' Use has made us unconscious of the fact that the 'dignity of work' is a mere phrase in our mouths, while it blinds us to the loss of national energy which avenges outraged labor.

. . . . . .

"Let us look to it, while the battle of free trade rages across the Atlantic, as rage it soon will, that we import some American

readiness and grip into our board-rooms and offices, some sense of the dignity of labor into our workshops."

This writer truthfully gives the facts, but into the causes of this sense of the dignity of labor in the Republic, and its absence in the Monarchy, he has not ventured to seek. Let me supply this omission. If you found a state upon the monarchical idea, which necessarily carries with it an aristocracy, by so much more as you exalt this royal family and aristocracy you inevitably degrade all who are not of these classes. That is clear. If at the pinnacle you place people who look with contempt upon honest labor when performed for a livelihood, whether by ministers, physicians, lawyers, teachers, or other professional men, or tradesmen, or mechanics; if you create a court from which people in trade, and artisans, are excluded; if you support a monarch who declines to have one in trade presented to her even at a state reception, thus entailing upon honest labor the grossest insult, what can be the result of the system but a community in which the dignity of labor has not only no place, but is actually looked down upon, as in Britain! This is the very essence of the monarchical idea.

The Queen of Great Britain insults labor every moment of her life by declining to recognize it. And all her *entourage*, from the duke who walks backward before "the Lord's anointed" for four thousand a year, down or up to the groom of the stole—whatever that may be—necessarily cherish the same contempt for those who lead useful lives of labor.

Mr. Pidgeon would cure this evil of his country by giving a better education to the people. So far, so good;

but until this educated people goes to the root of the evil and sweeps away the present foundation upon which their government rests, and founds in its place a government resting upon the equality of the citizen, he may legislate from June to January, year after year, and labor will still hold no honored place in the State. How can it ever be even respected so long as a monarch and a court despise and insult it?

> "Nature rejects the monarch, not the man;
> The subject, not the citizen; for kings
> And subjects, mutual foes, for ever play
> A losing game into each other's hand,
> Whose stakes are vice and misery."

Never will the British artisan rival the American until from his system are expelled the remains of serfdom, and there is instilled into his veins the pure blood of exalted manhood. Ah, Mr. Pidgeon! you should know that before you can have an intelligent, self-respecting, inventive artisan, like the American, or an educated young manager, the State must first make him a *man*, and his labor honorable.

Of course we hear the response to all this from the ostrich class: Britons have done pretty well, have they not? So far they have managed not only to hold their own in the world, but to successfully invade many provinces naturally belonging to others. Have not the British race come out ahead? Granted, and why? Because until recently they have had as competing races less free men, and therefore less *men* than themselves. Compare a Briton and his political liberties with a German, or with any Continental people, and the law I indicate receives

confirmation. The freer the citizen, the grander the national triumphs. Who questions that the overthrow of the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the supreme authority of Parliament have exerted a powerful influence upon the national character of Britain? And when a new race appears which enjoys political equality, shall the law not hold good, and the prize fall to the freest and therefore to the best man? And this is precisely what is going on before our eyes. Will any competent judge of the two countries upon this vital point dispute the immense superiority of the republican workman and manager? Will not Sir James Kitson, for instance, or Mr. Lowthian Bell, or Mr. Windsor Richards, or Mr. Edward Martin—all of whom have investigated the subject—will they not tell their fellow-countrymen as I tell them, and as Mr. Pidgeon tells them, that the *citizen* leads the *subject?* The theory of the equal status of the workingman in the State here lies at the root of his superiority, both as a citizen and as a skilled workman. We find that in handling a shovel (which few native Americans do), the British man in his cool climate can do more work than his fellow-countryman can, or at least than he does, here; but when we come to educated skilled labor, the average Briton at home is not in the race. Nor will he be until he too is subject to no man, but the proud citizen of a commonwealth founded upon political equality. The stuff is in him, but the laws of his country stifle it at his birth, and prevent its proper development all the years of his life.

The struggle for existence has already begun afresh, this time with other weapons than the spear and sword. European nations must rid themselves of the weight they

now carry if they would not fall further and further behind in the race. The people must first take their political rights, and secure perfect equality under the laws. This obtained, the rest is easy, for the people of all countries are pacific and bear nothing but good will to each other. Where ill will has grown it is the work of hereditary rulers and military classes, not responsible to the masses. From the jealousies and personal ambitions of these, the people are happily free, and hence from their advent to power there must come a rapid diversion of force from international war into the peaceful channels of industrial development. The reign of the Democracy means ultimately nothing less than the reign of peace on earth, among men good will.

CHAPTER XVI

MINING

"Deep in unfathomable mines
Of never-failing skill.
He treasures up his vast designs,
And works his wondrous will."

FOR how many years, or thousands of years, man in his savage and barbarous state was content to depend only upon the surface of the earth, is a question which has given rise to much controversy. But we do know that until recent times the value of a territory depended almost solely upon the fertility of the soil. Even in the developed island of Britain man congregated in the southern counties and produced his few pounds of metal there, attaching little importance to the stores of wealth which lay under the earth's surface only two hundred miles to the north. The rich treasures of eastern Pennsylvania counted for nothing even up to the time of men who have only recently passed away. The hidden treasures of the earth were not even suspected. The richness of our prairie soil and the advantages of our climate have made the Republic the chief granary of the world, but the more we delve into Mother Earth in this favored region the more we wonder at the mines of wealth found below.

In preceding chapters the superlative adjective has been so often applied to America when contrasted with

other lands, that the foreign reader, who now or the first time realizes the magnitude and greatness of the Republic, may not unnaturally begin to feel dubious about it and inclined to suspect that it is not a veritable nation at all to which such magnificent attributes are ascribed, but some fabled land of Atlantis. Nevertheless it is all real. The Republic is surely, as we have already seen, the most populous and wealthiest civilized nation in the world, and also the greatest agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing nation. And now we have one more fact to state—it is the greatest mining nation as well. Greatest on the surface of the soil, as she undoubtedly is, her supremacy below the surface seems equally incontestable. Over every part of the vast continent Nature has lavished her bounties in profusion almost wasteful. Beneath fields of waving corn, ripening in a perfect climate, are layers upon layers of mineral wealth. Deposits of gold, silver, coal, iron, and copper are found in quantities unknown elsewhere, and the rocks yield every year rivers of oil. To crown her bounty and aid in its utilization, and as if in pursuance of the law, "To him that hath shall be given," Nature has blessed her with a gift as remarkable as it is rare—an agent rich in beneficial influences, and helpful to a degree which renders every other natural gift prosaic in comparison—natural gas; a fluid distilled by nature deep in the earth, and stored in her own vast gasometers, requiring only to be led into workshops and under boilers to do there the work of a thousand giants.

Let me describe this new wonder first. A few years ago a company was drilling for petroleum at Murraysville, near Pittsburgh. A depth of one thousand three hundred and twenty feet had been reached, when the drills were

thrown high into the air and the derrick broken to pieces and scattered around by a tremendous explosion of gas, which rushed with hoarse shriekings into the air, alarming the population for miles around. A light was applied, and immediately there leaped into life a fierce, dancing demon of fire, hissing and swirling around with the wind, and scorching the earth in a wide circle around it. Thinking it was but a temporary outburst preceding the oil, men allowed this valuable fuel to waste for five years. Coal in that region cost only fifty or seventy-five cents per ton, and there was little inducement to sink capital in attempts to supersede it by a fuel which, though cheaper, might fail as suddenly as it had arisen. But as the years passed, and the giant leaped and danced as madly as at first, a company was formed to provide for the utilization of the gas. It was conducted in pipes under the boilers of iron works, where it burned without a particle of smoke. Stokers and firemen, and all the laborers who had been required to load, unload, and fire coal, became superfluous. Boring began in other districts, and soon around Pittsburgh were twenty gas wells, one yielding thirty million cubic feet a day. A single well has furnished gas equal to twelve hundred tons of coal a day. Numerous lines of pipes, aggregating more than ten thousand miles, now convey the gas from the wells to the manufacturing centres of Pittsburgh, Allegheny City, Chicago, and other cities. The empty coal bunkers are whitewashed; and in works where one hundred and twenty coal-begrimed stokers worked like black demons in Hades feeding the fires, one man now walks about in cleanly idleness, his sole care that of watching the steam and water gauges. The erstwhile "Smoky City" has now a pure atmosphere;

and one would little suspect that the view from the cliffs above the Monongahela River included the thousand hitherto smoky furnaces of the Iron City. Private residences in Pittsburgh are supplied with natural gas, and all heating and cooking are done with this cheap fuel. Nor is its use confined to these cities. Throughout great areas of adjoining States natural gas is found, and its use as a fuel spreads to more than half a million cooking and heating stoves, one hundred iron and steel works, another hundred glass manufactories, besides many thousand other industrial establishments. Already fourteen million tons of coal per year are displaced by it, and dross, which even before the application of natural gas was worth only seventy-five cents per ton in Pittsburgh, is now almost worthless. At present, gas wells in and around Pittsburgh are so numerous as to be counted by hundreds. The number of companies chartered to supply natural gas in Pennsylvania up to February 5, 1884, was one hundred and fifty, representing a capital stock of many millions. Since that date numerous other charters have been granted. More than one thousand producing wells have been drilled. Gas has also been found and produced in commercial quantities in the States of Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Alabama, Louisiana, New York, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Texas, South Dakota, Utah, and California. Its use in manufacturing and for domestic purposes is rapidly extending not only in and about Pittsburgh, but elsewhere in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and several other States. The towns of Findlay, Ohio; Muncie and Kokomo, Indiana, have become important manufacturing centres because of it. New uses are con-

stantly being discovered. Glass is made purer by means of the gas, the covered pots formerly used in the furnaces being found unnecessary. As a result of this, the United States is now making the finest cut glass and plate glass in the world. Iron and steel plates are cleaned and prepared for tinning by passing a current of gas over them while red-hot. The gas allowed to run to waste within piping distance of Pittsburgh has been so enormous that the drain has begun to tell upon the supply. The use of coal has again returned to blacken the city. This proves that the gas supply is not without limit. Most of the other regions have less gas than formerly, but this warning of limited supply is being heeded, and the gas is now much more carefully used.

Closely allied to natural gas is natural oil or petroleum, for gas is probably the distilled product of the oil, forced by subterranean heat and pressure out of the carbonaceous deposits. Though rock-oil was known to the early Chaldeans, and is referred to by Herodotus, Pliny, and other ancient writers, it was not utilized for manufacturing purposes until 1847, when Young, of Glasgow, made lubricating oil from petroleum shale obtained from Derbyshire, England. Then began in England and America the distillation of oil from coal; and in 1860 there were in the United States not less than forty factories producing about five hundred barrels per day. But these were doomed to speedy extinction; for in the preceding year a company had been formed in Pennsylvania to drill for the oil which was seen oozing in various places from the river banks and floating on the water. The Indians, by spreading blankets over the surface, used to collect small quantities of this oil to mix with their war-paint and

for medicinal purposes. Crude petroleum, under the name of Seneca oil, had, so late as thirty years ago, the reputation of a universal curative. The quack advertisements which set forth the virtues of this medicine began:

> "The healthful balm, from nature's secret spring,
> The bloom of health and life to man will bring;
> As from her depths the magic liquid flows,
> To calm our sufferings and assuage our woes."

It sold then for $2 (8s.) per bottle. Alas for human credulity! Since the oil, which once cured everything, brings only one dollar per barrel, it has lost all virtue, and cures nothing.

The first drilling in Pennsylvania resulted in a flow of ten barrels a day, which was sold for fifty cents a gallon. A period of wild excitement followed. Wells were sunk all over the country. Some were failures, but oil was often reached. Of one well it is recorded that it yielded four hundred and fifty thousand barrels of oil in a little more than two years, while another is said to have given not less than half a million barrels in a twelve-month. An oil property, Storey Farm, Oil Creek, with which I was intimately connected, has a remarkable history. When, about thirty years ago, in company with some friends I first visited this famous well, the oil was running into the creek, where a few flat-bottomed scows lay filled with it, ready to be floated down to the Allegheny River upon an agreed-upon day each week, when the creek was flooded by means of a temporary dam. This was the beginning of the natural oil business. We purchased the farm for $40,000 (£8,000), and so small was our faith in the ability of the earth to yield for any considerable time the hun-

dred barrels per day which the property was then producing, that we decided to make a pond capable of holding one hundred thousand barrels of oil, which we estimated would be worth, when the supply ceased, $1,000,000 (£200,000). Rivers of oil had been heard of, but we proceeded to make a lake of oil. Unfortunately for us, the pond leaked fearfully; evaporation also caused much loss, but we continued to run oil in to make the losses good day after day until several hundred thousand barrels had gone in this fashion. Our experience with the farm may be worth reciting. Its value rose to $5,000,000 (£1,000,000); that is, the shares of the company sold in the market upon this basis; and one year it paid in cash dividends $1,000,000 (£200,000)—rather a good return upon an investment of $40,000. So great was the yield in the district that in two years oil became almost valueless, often selling in bulk as low as thirty cents per barrel, and not infrequently it was suffered to run to waste as utterly worthless. But as new uses were found for the oil, prices rose again, and to remove the difficulty of high freights, pipes were laid, first for short distances, and then to the sea-board, three hundred miles distant. Through these pipes, of which six thousand two hundred miles have been laid, the oil is now pumped from thirty-five thousand wells. It costs only ten cents to pump a barrel of oil from the wells in Pennsylvania to the Atlantic or to Chicago. The present daily yield of the oil-producing districts is about one hundred and fifty thousand barrels, and the supply, instead of diminishing, increases yearly. More than thirty-eight million barrels of thirty-three gallons each were in store in November, 1884. The value of petroleum produced between 1880 and 1890, inclusive,

was not less than $250,000,000. The value of petroleum and its products exported from 1871 to 1890 exceeds in value $837,000,000.

It was supposed that no oil would be found from deeper layers of the earth's crust than the oil sands of Pennsylvania, but vast reservoirs of oil have been found in the older rocks which have been pushed up nearer the surface in Ohio. This oil contains bad-smelling sulphur compounds, which for a time condemned it to use as a fuel at ten cents a barrel. Now the sulphur is removed, and no one can tell the purified burning oil from the best Pennsylvania product, and, further, the minor products from this crude malodorous substance are nearly countless in their number and variety. One of the smallest furnishes thousands of tons annually of paraffine for candles; many tons of the same substance are made into chewing-gum, wax flowers, artificial and labor-saving honeycombs; it is indispensable in the laundry, the cotton and the worsted mill; is used in spinning flax, in leather tanning, in parlor-match making, in ore refining, and in foundries. Glass is annealed with it. Its property of protecting substances from chemical action makes it invaluable for coating eggs, apples, jellies, pills, capsules, and confectionery; as wax paper it has a host of uses; and now the smoke torch of the miner is being replaced by smokeless "Miner's Sunshine," in which paraffine is an important constituent.

In the Pittsburgh district we find another mineral deposit of immense value—a remarkable coal seam of great thickness, which makes a coke of such quality as to render it famous throughout the continent. It is so easily mined that a man and a boy can dig and load nearly

thirty tons in ten hours. In Chicago and in St. Louis, in the blast furnaces of Pittsburgh and in the silver and lead mines of Utah, this coke, "compact, silvery, and lustrous," is an important factor in the metallic industries of the Republic. It gives Pittsburgh advantages which cause it to rank first as an iron producer. Well may the Iron City burst into song:

"I am monarch of all the forges,
I have solved the riddle of fire;
The amen of nature to need of man
Echoes at my desire.
I search with the subtle soul of flame
The heart of the rocky earth,
And hot from my anvils the prophecies
Of the miracle years blaze forth.

"I am swart with the soot of my chimneys,
I drip with the sweat of toil;
I quell and sceptre the savage wastes
And charm the curse from the soil.
I fling the bridges across the gulfs
That hold us from the To Be,
And build the roads for the bannered march
Of crowned Humanity."

In the same lucky State of Pennsylvania, which produces nearly one-third of the total mineral product of the United States, are deposits of valuable anthracite coal, which, though including in all an area of only four hundred and seventy square miles, are of immense thickness. These deposits, which in parts vary from fifty to seven hundred feet thick, and average about seventy feet, make this wonderful region of greater value than many coal fields of ten times the area. Near Pottsville there is a thickness of

three thousand three hundred feet of coal measures. The cubic contents of the anthracite coal field, allowing fifty per cent. for loss in working, is estimated at thirteen billion one hundred and eighty million five hundred and thirty-five thousand tons of merchantable coal—a store capable of furnishing the present consumption, or thirty million tons per year, for four hundred and thirty-nine years. By that time men will probably be utilizing the solar rays, or the tidal energy, or using some undiscovered means of profitably getting heat and power by diverting natural phenomena. They will probably not feel the want of anthracite coal. At present, however, this fuel is especially precious on account of its hardness, density, and purity, which render it available for iron-smelting without coking, while to its freedom from smoke is due the pure atmosphere of Eastern American cities. The view from Brooklyn Bridge would delight a Londoner, used to the murky atmosphere of the English metropolis. He would see the roofs and chimneys of two great cities for miles, but hardly a particle of smoke to mar the purity of the bright air, or sully a sky which rivals that of Italy in clearness.

In thirty States and Territories, distributed all over the continent, north, south, east, and west, from Alabama to Rhode Island, and thence to California and Washington, coal is now being mined, while it is known to exist in several others. The future value of this wide distribution of coal can be but vaguely estimated, but taken in connection with the fact that iron ore is found in nearly every State and Territory of the Union, and is mined in twenty-eight of them, it is clear that its value in the near future will be enormous. A vast expansion is taking

place in the coal industry. In 1850 the total product was but seven and a quarter million tons; in 1880 it was seventy-one million tons, and in 1890 it reached one hundred and seventy-two million tons. That of Great Britain for the same year was one hundred and eighty-one million tons; but the Republic consumes all the product of its mines at home; Britain exports thirty millions of tons to other lands. The rest of the world produced only one hundred and sixty-two million tons; so that mother and child lands together produced more than twice as much coal as all the world besides.

For generations Britannia has ruled the iron trade as she has ruled the seas. In mining ore, in smelting pig-iron, in manufacturing steel, she has long been pre-eminent. To talk of competing with her a generation ago would have seemed the height of presumption, but this is what the Republic has done; and what is more, she has fairly beaten the mother country on her own ground. For this struggle she was, however, wonderfully well equipped. In some States the ores and the coal for smelting them are found in the closest juxtaposition, sometimes even lying in alternating beds in the earth's crust.

To the world's stock of gold America has contributed, according to Mulhall, more than fifty per cent. In 1880 he estimated the amount of gold in the world at ten thousand three hundred and fifty-five tons, worth $7,240,000,000 (£1,448,000,000). Of this the New World contributed five thousand three hundred and two tons, or more than half. Australia and the United States have competed keenly during the last thirty years for precedence, but it remains with the Republic. The struggle is indicated in the table on the following page.

MILLIONS STERLING.

	1851-60.	1861-70.	1871-80.	1881-90.	FORTY YEARS.
United States	102	98	70	65	335
Australia	104	82	73	44	303

In 1890 the Republic was ahead by $165,000,000 (£33,000,000), and was producing each year £2,000,000 more than Australia. The world's production of gold during the above forty years was over $4,500,000,000 (£900,000,000). Thus Australia and America produced together more than two-thirds of the whole. The yearly production of gold in the United States since 1880 has averaged $32,977,500 (£6,595,500), being one-third of the total product of the world.

Of silver, America has contributed to the world's supply even in larger ratio than of gold. Of the two hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred and ninety-three tons estimated to have been produced during the last four hundred years, the Americas have contributed one hundred and seventy-six thousand two hundred and forty-two tons, or eighty-two per cent. Though this was mainly the product of Mexico and Peru, the United States of late years have come to the front. The following table gives a comparative statement of the production of silver since 1850:

MILLIONS STERLING.

	1851-60.	1861-70.	1871-80.	1881-90.	TOTAL FOR FORTY YEARS.
World	81	110	160	253	624
United States	10	16	68	101	204

The difference between sixteen and one hundred and one marks the increase of silver mining in the Republic which has taken place in twenty years—an increase almost incredible. One of the most remarkable veins of metal known is the Comstock Lode, in Nevada. This lode, to which Mark Twain has given a European celebrity by his description in "Roughing It," is of great width, and extends over five miles. It is as if Oxford Street and Uxbridge Road were filled to the housetops with rich gold and silver ore from Holborn Viaduct to Acton. In fourteen years this single vein yielded $180,000,000 (£36,000,000). In one year, 1876, the product of the lode was $18,000,000 (£3,600,000) in gold, and $20,500,000 (£4,100,000) in silver—a total of $38,500,000 (£7,700,000). Here, again, is something which the world never saw before! Since 1880 the annual product of silver in the United States has averaged $50,379,800 (£10,075,960). The last decade shows $505,000,000 (£101,000,000) as the Republic's addition to the silver of the world. The increase from sixteen to one hundred and one in twenty years is remarkable, but it is more wonderful that the rate should be maintained.

America also easily leads the world in copper, its product being nearly one-half of that of all the world. The United States, Spain, Portugal, and Chili contribute three-fourths of the world's supply. The product of the Republic has increased twenty-five fold since 1860. In that year the total product was 7,200 tons; in 1870, 12,600 tons; in 1880, 27,000 tons; and the yield for 1891, produced from domestic ores exclusively, was no less than 126,839 tons. There's revolution for you! From 650 tons in 1850 to 126,839 in 1891! If the amount of copper ob-

tained from imported pyrites and ores—namely, 21,066 tons—be added to the fine copper produced from domestic ores, the total is raised to 147,905 tons. On the south shore of Lake Superior this metal is found almost pure in masses of all sizes up to many tons in weight. It was used by the Indians, and traces of their rude mining operations are still visible. One mine in this district, known as the Calumet and Hecla, produces more than one-fourth of the whole copper out-put of the United States—about 30,000 tons in 1890. It paid its owners $4,000,000 (£800,000) for two years' dividends. The mines on the south shore of Lake Superior produce altogether about one-third of the total product of the United States, but the copper mines of Montana now eclipse even these wonderful deposits in their productive capacity. Copper-mining is carried on in twenty-one States and Territories, and ore has been found in several others.

In 1870 the importation of lead into the United States amounted to forty-two thousand tons. In ten years this had fallen to four thousand tons. Then the tables were turned, and the United States, instead of importing lead, began to send it abroad, although in small quantities. In 1884 it was exported to the amount of twenty-six thousand pounds. This implies a rapid development of lead mining in the Republic. Indeed, in 1880 America was the first lead-producing country in the world, though Mulhall places her slightly behind Spain, and in 1890 her product of one hundred and forty-four thousand tons placed her easily in the lead of all nations.

The progress of the industry is shown in the following table, which also indicates the stages of the competition.

	METRIC TONS.			LONG TONS.
	1830.	1850.	1880.	1890.
				(Est. of U. S. Geol. Survey.)
Germany	9,500	16,000	58,600	90,000
Spain	23,000	27,000	92,000	120,000
Great Britain	48,000	55,000	51,000	50,000
France	1,100	7,000	32,000	12,000
Italy and Austria	15,000	23,000	41,900	20,000
Greece, Belgium, etc.	4,000	6,500	14,400	30,000
United States (Mulhall).	3,700	36,000	89,000	
United States (Whitney and Caswell)	8,000	22,000	97,825	144,400

The difference in the two American estimates for 1880 is probably due to the fact that the census statistics of the production of lead are only partial, since no account was taken of the West. In Utah, for example, which is not reported as producing any, lead is mined and smelted in connection with silver. Its product in 1880 was fifteen thousand net tons, and that of Nevada sixteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine. The product of Colorado alone was thirty-five thousand six hundred and seventy-eight tons. The lead district of the upper Mississippi and of eastern Missouri jointly produced twenty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety tons, while another district of southwestern Missouri and southeastern Kansas is reported to have produced twenty-two thousand six hundred and twenty-five tons the previous year. So that even the larger estimate would probably have to be increased, were accurate figures at hand. The product in 1891 is two hundred and two thousand four hundred and six tons, of which one hundred and seventy-one thousand tons are desilverized lead. Lead is produced in fifteen States

and Territories, mainly in the West. Colorado wears a leaden rim to her silver crown, she alone producing twice as much as the lead mines of Great Britain. Indeed, a single mine at Leadville produces two-thirds as much as all Great Britain, although lead is here only a by-product of silver mining. The Horn silver mine in Utah produced, in 1884, forty thousand tons of ore, averaging thirty and nine-one-hundredths per cent. of lead and thirty-nine ounces of silver, the latter alone nearly paying all the expenses of extraction, treatment, and marketing. Here again the owners got a million dollars for a year's dividends. Of the world's production of lead, more than one-half is produced by two countries—the Republic and Spain.

Zinc is now produced in America in large quantities. Previous to 1873 the amount obtained was very small, but in 1891 the year's product enormously exceeded that of Great Britain, being 80,337 tons against 3,582. In 1891, indeed, Great Britain was no longer in the race. The imports of zinc into the Republic have fallen off in a corresponding degree, being but one-fifth what they were in 1873, while prices have been reduced about eighty per cent. The Republic already ranks third among the zinc producers of the world.

The mineral resources of the United States comprise also quicksilver, the ores of chrome and nickel, cobalt, platinum, iridium, antimony, aluminum, manganese, asphaltum, ozocerite, marl, corundum, millstones, whetstones, mica, asbestos, soapstone, barite, ochre and mineral paint, fluorspar, and pyrites. Salt deposits are worked in several States. Sulphur, graphite, and gypsum abound. Mineral *phosphates* are found in South Carolina and Florida, where

they are worked into fertilizers for domestic consumption. The Florida deposit is now the dominant factor in the phosphate trade of the world. Granite, marble, sandstone, and other fine building stones, and roofing slates, are abundant and form the base of large and profitable industries. Even the precious onyx, which ranks among ornamental stones as the diamond does among gems, is now supplied to England from young Arizona.

The total value of the mineral products of the Republic in the year 1890 was nearly $657,000,000 (£131,400,000). Thus have the treasures of earth been among the most important elements in the growth and prosperity of the Republic. Besides great and direct gains, there have been many indirect benefits resulting from the opening up and settlement of extensive regions. Large towns have sprung up with magic growth in the wilderness. Where miners settled, agriculturists and mechanics soon came to minister to their wants. In this way some of the richest and largest towns of the West originated. San Francisco is the most notable instance. A later example is furnished by Leadville, which ten years ago was the centre of a barren, uninhabited region, the haunt of the catamount and grizzly bear. Now it is a town of wide streets and handsome stone buildings, court-house, hospitals, churches, schools, and all the attributes of a large civilized city. In ten short years the discovery of a rich lead vein has transformed the wilderness into an Arcadia. Where, a few years ago, the only sounds heard were the growl of the coyote or the occasional whoop of the savage, the busy hum of a city, the lowing of cattle, or the beat of a steam crusher now wake the echoes of the hills.

The Republic seems to stand like the variety shop-

keeper in Colorado, who put up in his shop, on a flaming placard, "If you don't see what you want, just ask for it." We have only to want a mineral and seek for it, when nature places it before us. The metal cadmium was considered merely a curiosity compared to most metals. It was not produced in the United States. Lately a large industrial establishment found use for it, and within two weeks the Geological Survey pointed out inexhaustible stores of it, and another mineral besides, with which to refine it. A few years ago there was not a pound of spiegel (so essential for the Bessemer steel process) made in the United States. We had not the proper ores, it was said. A hundred thousand tons were used every year, and every ton was imported. To-day we have the ores from Lake Superior, from Virginia, from Arkansas, from North Carolina and Tennessee, and all the spiegel we need can be made at home. So, too, with ferro-manganese. This is a metallic substance as essential for the manufacture of mild steel as spiegel is for steel rails. Eighty dollars a ton was paid for it by our manufacturers, and every ton came across the sea. We needed the precious ore, and, *presto!* a rich manganese mine appears in Virginia and another in Arkansas. It has been tested, and the former is pronounced to be the richest and purest in the world. "It will make ferro-manganese," said our manager. "Sure?" "Yes, sure." "Try it." Result: the Republic may be shut off to-morrow from foreign spiegel and ferro-manganese, and scarcely know it. Indeed, already she is second in the world in manganese production. Within her own broad bosom she has all the requisites for the manufacture of any kind of steel.

Tin is the only metal she now lacks. But let no one

be surprised to read some day the announcement that all other deposits of tin in the world sink into insignificance compared to those just discovered in America. Indeed, deposits of tin which are said to be enormously rich have been discovered in South Dakota and California, and are now being developed. It is merely a question of labor cost when these stores shall be turned into the world's supply.

That the reader may the better be enabled to estimate the extent of the enormous mineral treasures of the Republic, let us summarize in order the several principal deposits and contrast them with those of each country which ranks after America in mineral wealth. We begin with the black diamond, coal, as the mineral which perhaps lies closest to the root of industrial success. How then is the Democracy provided with this indispensable treasure?

The coal area of the United States comprises some three hundred thousand square miles; Great Britain's coal field twelve thousand. The whole of the world has, so far as known, but four hundred thousand square miles. The Republic, therefore, has twenty-five times the field of the parent land; and, let us be almost ashamed to confess it, she has three-quarters of all the coal area of the earth. She has iron ore in such abundance that only the very richest and that most favorably situated with respect to fuel is yet mined. Ores which in other countries would be valuable are here passed by as useless.

Let us see about the precious metals. "Gold and silver have I none," was not written of this giant. She has contributed to the stock of gold in the world, estimated at ten thousand three hundred tons, more than one-half

the whole. Australia has given her a close race during the past thirty years, but the Republic remains ahead.

In silver the Republic begins to challenge even the fabulous mines of Mexico and Bolivia, still classed as Spanish America, from which most of the silver supply of the world has hitherto been drawn. In the ten years between 1850 and 1860, these mines furnished more than half of all the silver produced. In the next decade, 1860 to 1870, it was still the same, $320,000,000 (£64,000,000) being their product, while the total was but $550,000,000 (£110,000,000). In these two decades the infant Republic produced only $50,000,000 (£10,000,000) and $80,000,000 (£16,000,000) respectively. But with the discovery of the silver mines of Nevada and Colorado, which lay till then in the untrodden wilderness, the United States came rapidly to the front, and in the next decade, 1870 to 1880, she shows $340,000,000 (£68,000,000) as against the $350,000,000 (£70,000,000) of all the Spanish-America mines together. Germany and Austria produced about $100,000,000 (£20,000,000), and various countries as much more. Since 1880, the race is more and more to the Republic, for the average product of her silver mines since then exceeds $50,000,000 (£10,000,000) per annum, more than one-third of the silver production of the world. In 1889, the latest year for which we have exact figures, there was produced in the United States 51,354,851 ounces of silver, with a coining value of $66,396,688.

Leaving the "yellow geordie" and the "white monie," as Bassanio did, let us see how it fares with the humbler, dingy, dull copper—the bawbee. The world's production of copper in 1890 was two hundred and seventy thousand tons. Of this, America supplied more than two-fifths,

one hundred and fifteen thousand tons; the whole of Europe gave only seventy-seven thousand tons; Chili but twenty-six thousand tons.

Is it not amazing that one nation should in itself have each of the three metals in such abundance? Australia has gold, and the Republic says to her, "So have I, in value greater than yours." Mexico and Bolivia call, "Here stand we with the dazzling mines of Peru," and the Republic answers, "Our silver mines exceed those treasures." Chili has been the main source of the copper supply, and now the Republic dwarfs her in her own special field.

It was not copper after all that Bassanio preferred, but the dull, leaden casket. Let us see then about this valuable article. The world produced in 1890 three hundred and fourteen thousand four hundred tons, and of this the Republic contributed one hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred tons—nearly half. Spain comes next to her, with one hundred and twenty thousand tons; Britain figures here for fifty thousand tons—not a bad showing for so small an area.

Thus the Republic supplies one-half of the lead, one-fourth of the copper, one-third of the silver, and one-half of the gold of the world. Monster of the Pactolean stream, must everything you possess and everything you touch turn to gold, that you may dominate the earth?

Thank God, these treasures are in the hands of an intelligent people, the Democracy, to be used for the general good of the masses, and not made the spoils of monarchs, courts, and aristocracies, or to be turned to the base and selfish ends of a privileged hereditary class. The weakest nation may rest secure—Canada on the north, and Chili on

the south—for the nature of a government of the people is to abjure conquest, to protect the weak neighbor from foreign aggression, if need be; never to molest, but to dwell in peace and loving neighborliness with all. The Republic is, indeed, the child of covetous, grasping, ever-warring Britain, but being relieved of monarchical institutions and the militarism which is their necessary following, she has thrown away the rude sword and scorns to conquer except through love. It is a proud record for the Democracy that the giant of the Western Continent is not feared by the pygmies which surround him, but is regarded with affection and admiration in the day of prosperity, and as a sure and potent defender, upon whom they can safely call in the day of trouble.

Had the monarchy retained possession of the country, how different must have been the result! Added to the inevitable wars of an aristocratic and military system, there would have been the hate of republics as republics, for no official royalist ever would let a republic live if he could help it; for though not generally wise, they are not quite so devoid of reasoning self-interest as to court self-extinction. Every weak nation upon the continent would have lived in fear. No neighbor ever liked the British. No neighbor ever can until the masses are known to them and make the government of England in its dealings with other nations a true expression of themselves. The people of Britain are most lovable; its ruling classes are just what monarchy and privilege make of men and women—selfish, narrow, conceited, and tyrannical, and wholly unmindful of others. For this reason, while the British governing powers have always been feared, they have never been loved by other races.

All this will change, however, when the Democracy rules their country. The parent land will become in Europe what the Republic is upon the American continent —the unselfish counsellor, the guide, the true and trusted friend of its less powerful, less advanced nations. It is not by wicked conquest over other states, but by honest, peaceful labor within its own boundaries and with the good will of all its neighbors that the Democracy builds up the giant Republic—the friend of all nations, the ally of none.

CHAPTER XVII

COMMERCE

"The selection of foreign trade as specially a test of the welfare of nations does not seem to be in any way justified."—ROBERT GIFFEN, C.B., *Board of Trade, London.*

"The great ships which pass between the old and new lands are shuttles weaving a glorious web. Already 'Arbitration' has been fully spelled out upon the pattern, and now comes 'Peace and Good Will.'"

THE United States of America probably furnish the only example in the world's history of a community purely industrial in origin and development. Every other nation seems to have passed through the military stage. In Europe and in Asia, in ancient times as well as in modern, social development has been mainly the result of war. Nearly every modern dynasty in Europe has been established by conquest, and every nation there has acquired and held its territory by force of arms. Men have been as wild beasts slaughtering each other at the command of the small privileged classes. The colonies of America, on the other hand, were established upon a peaceful basis, and the land chiefly obtained by purchase or agreement, and not by conquest. Devoted to industry, the American people have never taken up the sword except in self-defence or in defence of their institutions. Never has the plough, the hammer, or the loom been deserted for the sword of conquest. Never has the profession of arms been honored above or even equally with other profes-

sions. Indeed, before the Civil War soldiers were objects of popular ridicule; and even now, when almost every American above fifty years of age has either himself shouldered a musket or has relations who have fought for the unity of the country, the soldier of fortune—a type common among other people—is unknown. Such a man as the sanguinary author of "Under Fourteen Flags," a book descriptive of his butchering of fellow-men, would provoke among Americans feelings of repugnance and disgust. American regiments are regiments of workers. Emblazoned on their banners are not the names of cities sacked or of thousands slaughtered, but the names of inventors, civilizing influences, labor-saving machines. "By this sign shall ye conquer," was also the divine prediction for them; but the symbol was the plough, not the cross-shaped hilt of a sword.

The two armies are those which the poet Holmes has so well contrasted:

"One marches to the drum-beat's roll,
The wide-mouthed clarion's bray,
And bears upon a crimson scroll,
'*Our glory is to slay.*'

"One moves in silence by the stream,
With sad yet watchful eyes,
Calm as the patient planet's gleam
That walks the clouded skies.

"Along its front no sabres shine,
No blood-red pennons wave;
Its banner bears the single line,
'*Our duty is to save.*'"

While the millions of Europe have been struggling in

the thralls of military despotism, the American people have been for a hundred years peacefully working out a career of usefulness. The result is that their industrial successes have placed them at the head of the world in wealth, commerce, and manufactures, and in freedom from taxation. While practically independent herself, America has become indispensable to Europe. Without her bountiful supplies of cotton, grain, and meat, millions of Europeans would lack food and clothing.

There are two kinds of commerce, the internal and the external; the exchange of commodities which takes place between the citizens of a common country, and the exchange between citizens of different countries—the one home commerce and the other foreign commerce. Although the former exceeds the latter in the Republic in the proportion of 130 to 17, making the foreign commerce almost insignificant in comparison, yet the foreign has attracted more attention than the home commerce from writers and economists generally.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The writers upon the subject until recent years have been almost exclusively British, and to their country foreign commerce is of vital importance. Inhabiting two small islands in the North Sea, with no variety of climate or soil, packed with thirty-seven millions of people, incapable of growing one-half of the food required—this wonderful race has necessarily become the manufacturers for the world. This has been rendered possible owing to Britain's mineral treasures of coal, ironstone, and limestone. If she is to support one-half of her people she must send her manufactures abroad to all parts of the world, and bring back the food products that she requires to feed her people. Therefore

the prosperity or misfortune of Britain is to be tested by the increase or decrease of her foreign commerce. It was only natural, then, that in the eyes of her writers foreign commerce should assume transcendent importance.

The case is entirely reversed with the Republic—forty-four nations in one, and a world within itself, capable of supplying all its wants. Its prosperity or misfortune is to be gauged by its home commerce, the extent to which it manufactures and supplies its own wants; and the growth of its foreign commerce is in no wise a proof of prosperity. A moment's reflection will show that a dollar's worth of home commerce is worth two dollars' worth of foreign to the nation. Thus, if the Texan sends his cotton to Massachusetts, and receives in payment his shoes or his hardware, two persons are benefited, for every exchange is mutually beneficial or it would not be made. If the Texan sends his cotton to Liverpool, and receives in exchange his shoes or his hardware, in like manner two persons are benefited. The difference is that in the home exchange both parties benefited are Americans, and in the foreign exchange one is an American and one a foreigner. Two States of the American Union are benefited by the home commerce; one State of the American Union and one foreign state are benefited by the foreign exchange.

The total foreign commerce of the United States in 1890 was $1,733,263,839, the highest on record. In the same year the value of its home commerce was $13,060,000,000.

Although the foreign commerce is relatively so trifling compared with the home commerce—if we compare our foreign commerce with our manufactures, we find that its value is in the proportion of 17½ to 87 for products of

manufactures—we will consider it first. Its history may be set forth in a few words. The net imports, including coin and bullion, $22,500,000 (£4,500,000) in 1790, increased to $75,000,000 (£15,000,000) in 1830. And in the next term of fifty years we find them bounding from this figure to $761,000,000 (£152,200,000). Eleven years later, in 1891, they were $881,000,000 (£176,200,000). The exports show even a more rapid advance, for these began in 1790 at $20,000,000 (£4,000,000), reached $60,000,000 (£12,000,000) in the forty years to 1830, and in 1891 we find them $993,000,000 (£198,600,000), so that in a century the foreign commerce of the Republic has increased forty-four fold, and in the past sixty years it has increased about fourteen fold. The imports have increased in this period twelve times, and the exports sixteen times. The amount of imports per capita of the population has increased during the last fifty years from $6.25 (£1 5*s.*) to almost $15, while exports increased from $8 (£1.6) to $16. Let us see what the few leading articles are which go to make up this commerce. What did the Republic buy from the world in 1891? Sugar and molasses to the extent of $108,000,000 (£21,600,000). Surely Brother Jonathan has a sweet tooth, for he spent more for sweet things than for anything else. Fortunately the masses of the people now have their sugar free of duty. For wool and woollen goods he spent $59,000,000 (£11,800,000); for chemicals, $47,000,000 (£9,400,000). Even cotton goods, although he exports them himself, he wanted from others to the amount of $30,000,000 (£6,000,000)—some curious and rare things in cotton, I suppose, which pleased his fancy, or *her* fancy, more likely. Silks he paid just a little more for; $38,000,000 (£7,600,000) was spent for

these. The Scotch say: "She never bode for a silk goon that didna gat the sleeve o't." The American woman goes for the full "goon" and gets it, although now it is generally of domestic manufacture, no matter what may be the label. Raw silk to be manufactured is imported to about one-half the value of imported silks, which proves how very much more is made at home than is bought abroad, the value of the raw silk being many times less than the finished goods. His cup of coffee costs the American $96,000,000 (£19,200,000) per year, and tea $14,000,000 (£2,800,000). These are the principal purchases he makes from others, while manufactured articles of iron and steel he still imports to the tune of $54,000,000 (£10,800,000); but nearly $36,000,000 of this sum is for one article, tin plate, which he is now beginning to make for himself.

Now what does he sell to these good friends whom he honors with his patronage? He does a thriving business, truly, in this department. First come his cotton exports. The world bought from him in 1891, $304,000,000 worth (£60,800,000). Then his wheat department disposed of $51,000,000 worth (£10,200,000), and in the form of flour, $55,000,000 more (£11,000,000). Meat, eggs, butter, and other provisions kept not a few of his hands busy, for nearly $139,000,000 (£27,800,000) had to be sent abroad to satisfy the world's wants. Even petroleum to the extent of $52,000,000 (£10,400,000) he sent forth to light the world; and tobacco to end in smoke cost his customers that year no less than $25,000,000 (£5,000,000). Wood and its manufactures to the extent of $26,500,000 (£5,300,000) were taken—a great deal, no doubt, in the shape of furniture. Iron and steel manufactures make a

much better showing than expected, for he really exported these—sewing-machines, agricultural machinery, and a thousand-and-one Yankee notions—to the sum of $29,000,000 (£5,800,000). And finally Uncle Sam sends from his big farm some of his millions of live cattle and sheep, and gets $33,000,000 (£6,600,000) for them.

Special note should be taken of the exports of agricultural machinery, which amounted in 1892 to $3,794,983. One of the triumphs of the Republic is found in this department. One of the principal manufacturers of agricultural machinery in Britain told the writer last year that he had withdrawn from the colonies of his own country, beaten by the American manufacturer; also that he was withdrawing from the European trade; and, further, he said that American machinery was being sold in Britain itself at less price than it could be manufactured there. Let me explain why this is so. The British manufacturer makes three or four hundred machines in a season. The American puts in hand five thousand. The workmen here earn at least double the wages of those abroad, but by the aid of improved machinery and many devices applicable to an enormous business the American is able to ship his surplus to the ports of the world. When in Aberdeen, Scotland, recently, I was surprised to find that shiploads of Maine granite were being imported. It was found cheaper to import the American granite than to quarry and prepare by hand labor the granite at their own doors. What is "carrying coals to Newcastle" compared with "granite to Aberdeen"?

In our opinion this movement, which we have ventured to call the Law of the Surplus, is to play a much more important part in the future than tariff legislation.

The nation that has the greatest home trade in any article will finally beat competitors in other lands, because, having this profitable home trade, her manufacturers can manufacture upon a greater scale than their rivals, and if they receive only the actual shop cost for their surplus sent abroad they will be advantaged. The enormous home market of the Republic, a market constantly expanding, is in the near future to enable the American manufacturer of many articles, and of a constantly increasing number, to supply foreign requirements to the exclusion of the manufacturer abroad. It will not be our tariff laws of which the foreign manufacturer will hereafter have cause to complain. It will be this law of the surplus, which enables the possessor of the larger home market to capture the foreign market. To the manufacturer it can truly be said, Secure the home market, and the market of the world will soon be added.

Our exports are drawn from several departments, which may be classed under the general heads of agriculture, manufactures, mines, forests, etc., and tabulated as follows, with the amounts contributed by each:

EXPORTS, 1891.

Agriculture	£128,600,000	$643,000,000
Manufactures	33,800,000	169,000,000
Mines	4,500,000	22,500,000
Forests	5,800,000	29,000,000
Fisheries	1,200,000	6,000,000

Large as his sales are to foreign nations, these are small in comparison with his home trade, being in the proportion, as already shown, of but one to nine.

Thus does he, the young hopeful, lay under contribu-

tion all wealth-producing sources to swell his prosperous and rapidly increasing business with the world.

We see that, notwithstanding the almost incredible expansion of home manufactures, the American citizen imports more and more from other lands. See him only fifty years ago patronizing other people to the extent of $6.25 (£1 5s.) per head, and now every man, woman, and child spends $15 (£3) for foreign goods. His tariff may be very high and quite outrageous in the opinion of many, yet he buys about three times as much per head under it as he did fifty years ago. It cannot be so very bad after all, although it is none the less true that year after year America gains firmer control of her own markets for manufactured articles. Every year sees a decrease of these finished articles relatively to the total imports. In crude and partially manufactured articles, imports are increasing; in 1860, for instance, the proportion of these was only twenty-six per cent.; but by uninterrupted advances every decade it rose in 1890 to more than half of the total importations, while manufactured articles fell from seventy-four per cent. to less than half.

Now let us see how the foreign trade of the Republic compares with that of other leading nations. This is set forth in the following table:

	IMPORTS, 1890.	EXPORTS, 1890.
	Millions of dollars.	Millions of dollars.
Great Britain	2,105	1,320
France	885	750
Germany	1,070	850
United States	823	910

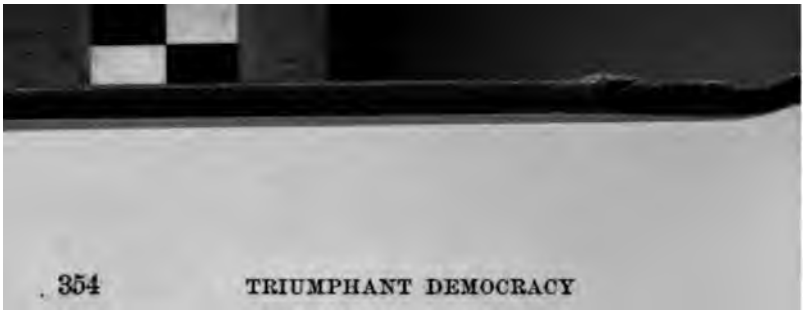
It appears from this that the mother country is still

far in advance of all other nations in her foreign commerce, especially in imports—for the reason stated, that she is so dependent upon other nations for her supplies, the imports of which are more than double those of France and nearly double those of Germany, while the United States stands at the foot of the list. In other words, the United States is obliged to buy less from other countries than any of these nations. This is to be expected, since her home resources are so great and varied.

In the matter of exports a different picture is presented. While Great Britain stands at the head of the list, she is not far in advance of the Republic, while France and Germany stand below the latter.

In one respect the Republic leads them all. She sells more than she buys, while each of the other countries buys more than it sells.

While considering this matter of imports, the reader must not lose sight of the fact that but a tithe of the products of the Republic are sent abroad for foreign consumption. Nine-tenths of the annual production of the Republic is consumed at home. As above stated, the foreign trade of the country is a trifle compared with its home trade. It is the most independent of nations. It might to-day be cut off from all intercourse with foreign countries, and, except for two or three articles not absolutely necessary, this isolation would not be greatly felt; the loss and inconvenience occasioned by the change would probably be more than compensated for by the results of quickened enterprise in other channels, and the Republic would emerge from the embargo more powerful than before and entirely independent of other nations, a veritable world within itself. No one desires the experi-



ment tried, but it can do no harm for the world to know that the Republic is invulnerable were either of the maritime powers of Europe to attack her. Our sure defence would not be found in our navy or in our forts. We should not require either. Not a gun need be fired; sink a few loaded scows in the channels of our outer harbors, prohibit the shipment of any of our products, and just wait.

No foe that has ships to make an attack formidable could endure the consequences. If any European power therefore threatens to close our ports, let us inform it that it would not be in time; that effective operation we reserve for ourselves. "You dare attack me!" says the Republic. "Nonsense; you just try it, and I'll let you starve."

The balance of trade, to which, despite the teaching of some economists, Americans still attach great importance, has during the last fifteen years been almost continually and greatly in favor of the Republic. In the space of sixty years foreign commerce has increased fivefold. It has more than doubled since 1860, notwithstanding the check it received during the war, and reached its maximum in 1881; since that time there has been a falling off, due to the protracted period of depression; but since 1885 it has increased again rapidly, and is now greater than ever before. Up to the year 1876, with a few exceptions, the imports were in excess of the exports of merchandise, the maximum difference being reached in 1872, when the excess was $116,000,000 (£23,200,000). Since then the balance has been the other way, the highest figure being reached in 1879, viz.: $270,000,000 (£54,000,000). Comparing the year 1860 with 1890, the

imports and the exports increased over one hundred and twenty-seven per cent. respectively. From 1876, exports of merchandise have exceeded imports by nearly $2,000,000,000.

It has been usual to speak of the Republic as without commerce. Much dire prophesying of coming decay is indulged in because the sea-going commerce is now chiefly carried in foreign ships. The tendency is to limit the term "commerce" to the carriage of merchandise to and from other countries. So limited, America has, indeed, little to boast of. The change from wooden to iron and steel ships cut her out of a large part of the carrying trade which no fiscal regulations or lack of regulations can possibly restore.

But since the prices for steel and for other materials entering into ships have fallen much nearer to the European standard than formerly, the Republic has begun to regain what she had lost. Even upon the ocean her proportion of the carrying trade of the world in 1880 was twenty per cent. and a fraction. In 1890 it has risen to twenty-three per cent. So far her portion of the carrying trade has been carried in sailing ships, but the government has recently followed the example of foreign governments, paying heavily for the transmission of mails, and also giving a bonus of so much per mile run for steamships built in America and subject to the call of the government as cruisers in time of war. Only recently the President raised the Stars and Stripes over one of the two largest and swiftest steamships afloat, the *New York*. Her companion, the *Paris*, has adopted the same flag. Contracts for five additional steamers have been made in pursuance of this policy, and we are about

to witness an earnest effort to restore the flag to a satisfactory position upon the sea.

The reason why British foreign trade begins to decline, or at best stands stationary, is because other nations are developing their own manufacturing systems and supplying more and more their own wants. Thus India is now manufacturing in Bombay and Calcutta to a great extent the cotton that it grows, and supplying the wants of its own people. Not only this, but she exported last year to Japan and China fifteen millions of yards of cotton goods. Surely it was a most unnatural condition of affairs that cotton grown in India had to be transported five thousand miles to Britain, there fashioned into an article ready for use, and this article carried back again to India. When India manufactures its cotton at home the entire cost of transportation over these many miles of sea and back again is saved to the consumer. In like manner, now that the United States manufactures so great a portion of its cotton crop, a great saving is effected, while the manufacturing industry of the country is also increased.

It is obvious that the more completely a nation supplies its own wants, the greater its home commerce must grow and its foreign commerce relatively decline.

Foreign commerce is to be regarded as a poor substitute for home commerce. A nation is in the best condition when it can supply almost all its wants and is not compelled to draw from other nations. To the extent to which it is dependent upon other nations it is a misfortune. Fortunately, among all nations the American Union is destined from its own resources to supply more of its wants than any other nation the world has ever seen. Its home commerce is to be enormous and its foreign com-

merce insignificant. Even in 1892, the year in which foreign commerce was highest, it amounted to only $2,010,341,036, while the home commerce for that year is estimated at nearly fourteen thousand million dollars. The foreign is represented by a stunted shrub nine feet high; the home commerce by a rapidly growing sturdy oak seventy feet high, under whose branches the wealth increases at a pace undreamed of in the annals of our race.

Notwithstanding all this, America still manages to do some of the foreign carrying trade, especially in her wooden ships, in the construction of which she has her rivals at a disadvantage, because the timber is here. She carried in 1890, $223,000,000 (£44,600,000), or about twelve per cent. of her whole foreign commerce. The coasting trade of America, from which foreigners are excluded, presents a fairer showing, being thirty-four million tons. The total merchant marine of the nation in 1890, including that engaged in foreign and domestic trade and river and lake navigation, was seven million six hundred and twenty-four thousand three hundred and four tons, which place her next in rank to Britain, with her nine million tons, and far ahead of any other nation.

From the unique position of Britain as the carrier of the world, it follows that her people have unconsciously been led to attach far too much importance to the foreign trade as it concerns nations in general. Even in her own case it is trifling compared to her internal commerce. Her railways alone carry three times as much as all her ships, foreign, sea-going, and domestic traffic combined. "The milkman who brings the daily portion of milk to him who dwells in city or town represents a commerce of vast

proportions, almost equal in this country, in its aggregate value, to the whole sum of our foreign importations." The home commerce of America is many times greater than her foreign commerce; and even Britain's gigantic foreign commerce is only a fraction of the home commerce of America.

The total American traffic with foreign nations is sixteen millions of tons. If every ton carried in foreign ships were carried in American ships, the additional trade would not be as great as the natural increase of her home commerce for a single year. Truly a paltry prize to contend for and make such a fuss about. The American coasting traffic alone more than doubles the entire foreign traffic (thirty-four as against sixteen million tons), while the domestic commerce by rail is reported as six hundred and thirty-two million tons, and by steamers on lakes and rivers as nearly thirty millions of tons. Thus it appears that our internal commerce, of which so little is heard, is scores of times greater in tonnage than the foreign trade. Really there is no greater impostor than the distinguished stranger known as "Foreign Commerce."

The interdependence of our States, and hence the commerce between them, is shown in an interesting way by an illustration borrowed from my friend, Mr. Edward Atkinson—a homely illustration in a subject not fitted for poetic treatment, nor likely to appeal to the imagination, "*commerce in hogs.*" The great prairies of the West grow corn in such abundance that even now, with all our means of intercommunication, it cannot be all used as food, and some of it is consumed as fuel. It often happens that the farmer upon new land, remote from railroads, can get only fifteen to twenty cents per bushel for

Indian corn, at which price it is not only the best but also the cheapest fuel at his command, and its use is an evidence of good economy, and not of waste. Upon the fat prairie lands of the West the hog is wholesomely fed only upon corn in the milk or corn in the ear; thence it is carried to the colder climate of Massachusetts, where by the use of that one crop in which New England excels all others—ice—the meat can be packed at all seasons of the year. There it is prepared to serve as food for the workmen of the North, the freedmen of the South, or the artisans of Europe; while the blood, dried in a few hours to a fine powder, and sent to the cotton fields of South Carolina and Georgia to be mixed with the phosphate rocks that underlie their coast land, serves to produce the cotton fibre which furnishes the cheapest and fittest clothing for the larger portion of the inhabitants of the world.

Here, then, is commerce, or men serving each other on a grand scale, all developed within the century, and undreamed of by our ancestors. Commerce sets in motion her thousand wheels, food is borne to those who need it, and they are saved the effort to obtain it on the more sterile soil of the cold North. Commerce turns that very cold to use. The refuse is saved, and commerce has discovered that its use is to clothe the naked in distant lands. Borne to the sandy but healthy soils of Georgia and South Carolina, it renovates them with the fertility thus transferred to them from the prairies of Illinois and Indiana, and presently there comes back to Massachusetts the cotton of the farmers, the well-saved, clean, strong, and even staple, which commerce again has discovered to be worth identifying as the *farmer's*, not as the planter's,

crop, made by his own labor, and picked by his wife and children.

To show how overwhelmingly the Republic buys from Britain, we have but to contrast its purchases from other lands. France, in 1891, supplied only $77,000,000 (£15,400,000) worth of goods, and Germany but $97,000,000 (£19,400,000) worth. The combined trade of these two principal sources of supply, after Britain, is but little more than three-fifths of Britain's sum, including the British possessions, nor do they combined equal the purchases from Britain proper, for France and Germany together sent but $174,000,000 (£34,800,000), while Britain sent $195,000,000 (£39,000,000).

Britain could lose either France or Germany, and almost both combined as purchasers, and her trade would not suffer as much as from the withdrawal of the much-abused American. Is it not time for the Monarchy to be just a little mindful of this fact, and to behave itself accordingly toward its dutiful offspring, who year after year increases her patronage, and takes of its manufactures more than she takes from all the rest of the world?

The Briton should ponder over one startling fact, viz.: that the only nation with which his trade increases is the Republic against which he rails most. India, Australasia, Canada, and all the colonies buy less and less of his products; the Republic alone buys more and more. Thus:

In ten years ending December, 1889, there were added to the British marine 5,002,000 tons—half a million tons per year. The tonnage added to the American marine last year (1891) was 369,302. The present year promises to show even a larger amount. The Republic is thus at last gaining rapidly upon Britain in ship-

ping, which is required to meet the demands of traffic between her own ports and upon her inland seas. It is more than probable that the census of 1900 will show the annual addition to the American marine to be at least equal to the increase in that of Britain. Having passed the world's manufacturer in the production of pig-iron and steel, in the manufacture of silks, in the consumption of coal, in value of manufactures, and in banking capital and national wealth, there remain only the manufacture of cotton and woollen fabrics and shipping in which Britain ranks first, and in both of these the Republic promises soon to be abreast of the Monarchy.

Much is said in Britain about the tariff policy of the Republic, but the results of that policy I fear are but little understood. The general impression is that the duties charged are so exorbitant as seriously to cripple trade between the old and new lands. So far from this being true, Britain has no customer to whom she sends so much of her manufactures, nor any with whom her trade increases so rapidly. This so-called highly protective and heavily taxed Republic imports more British goods than any other nation. Here are the figures for 1890: Britain sent goods to India in that year valued at thirty-four millions sterling, to Germany nineteen millions, to France seventeen millions, and to the Republic thirty-seven millions sterling.

I merely venture to give the facts bearing upon the present aspect of the question as far as the Republic is concerned, that those in Europe who bewail the hard fate of the consumer here may be comforted, for truly he is not paying the fair cost of his supplies plus the duty, but only the unprecedentedly low prices established by the

close and unremitting competition of home manufacturers; and these prices, as has been shown in the chapter on manufactures, are with rare exceptions not much above those of Britain. It is for these reasons that the consumer is not troubling himself, and cannot be made to trouble himself very greatly, with the question of the tariff.

Far be it from me to retard the march of the world toward the free and unrestricted interchange of commodities. When the Democracy obtains sway throughout the earth the nations will become friends and brothers, instead of being as now the prey of the monarchical and aristocratic ruling classes, and always warring with each other; standing armies and war ships will be of the past, and men will then begin to destroy custom-houses as relics of a barbarous monarchical age, not altogether from the low plane of economic gain or loss, but strongly impelled thereto from the higher standpoint of the brotherhood of man; all restriction upon the products of other lands will then seem unworthy of any member of the race, and the dawn of that day will have come when

> "Man to man the world o'er
> Shall brothers be, and a' that."

CHAPTER XVIII

RAILWAYS AND WATERWAYS

"Time and space are already annihilated by electricity, and steam is rapidly making the world one vast neighborhood."

WHEN we write of the railways of the United States we embrace very nearly as many miles as the rest of the world contains; and when we consider its waterways, we find nothing on earth to which these can be compared. The mode of transportation by railway may be considered as settled. The best routes have been utilized. Improvements will constantly take place and the mileage be doubled, but no radical change seems probable; it is improvement in the existing lines which we must expect. With the waterways it is different, and he would be a bold writer who sets limits to the changes which the future is to see in these channels of communication soon to become of vital importance. It is the fashion to criticise the annual appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors, but it is doubtful if any money is more wisely spent. A small percentage of it, no doubt, may bring little return, but the Republic will be more benefited by improving its waterways than by any other government work of which I know.

The traveller from the South by steamer along the Atlantic coast witnesses most gratifying scenes. At Fernandina, Florida, a corps of army officers is busily en-

gaged extending the breakwater to improve that harbor. The boat touches at Brunswick, Georgia, and there another corps is engaged in similar work. Touching again at Charleston, South Carolina, he sees the dredging boats floating the United States flag, and the officers of the army making that one of the finest harbors on the coast. At Savannah the same work goes forward, and the same at Galveston, Texas. One appropriation of six millions of dollars is being expended to give that growing city a suitable harbor. At New Orleans the government boats are also at work, in every case officers of the army being in charge; and so around the entire coast the good work of improving harbors goes on. Not only along the coast but into the centre of the Republic at many internal points the general government is improving its waterways.

It was never denied that Congress had a right to improve the harbors of the land, but the first proposal to devote government money to the improvement of internal waters was stoutly resisted. Our strict constructionist friends of the South denounced it as unconstitutional, so important was foreign trade considered in the early days before we learned that it was but trifling compared to internal trade. The bill seemed likely to be lost, but it was saved by one of the most effective speeches ever delivered in a legislative assembly. A Pennsylvania member, a German who spoke rather imperfect English, arose and said: "Mr. Speaker, I would not give a cent for a constitution that would not wash in fresh water as well as in salt." Uproarious laughter followed; no man could be induced to vote against the bill, and thus by the happy stroke of that member the con-

stitutional question was satisfactorily settled. A set oration from the greatest orator of the day would probably not have been able to save the cause of internal improvements. We shall learn, as the nation grows in power, to laugh down many strict constructionists of the Constitution. After all, constitutions are made for the good of the people, and must not be allowed to interfere with their untrammelled development.

Of the two hundred and seven millions appropriated up to this date for the improvement of harbors and rivers, it is satisfactory to know that the amount is about equally divided between fresh and salt water, thanks to the Pennsylvania German.

In the not distant future the great lakes will be connected with the Mississippi by canal. A deep watercourse will certainly be provided from the lakes to the Atlantic. Another great waterway will some day extend from the mouth of the Susquehanna or the James River on the Atlantic to the Ohio River, connecting with its twenty thousand miles of internal navigation, giving continuous water transportation to west, north, and south. A canal across Florida will shorten the distance between New York and New Orleans some eight hundred miles. An inland waterway will extend from New York to Florida. A canal from Lake Erie will unite the great chain of lakes with the river system of the Ohio and the Mississippi. By movable dams upon our rivers, many now closed to navigation will be utilized. The dam now in successful operation below the city of Pittsburgh upon the Ohio fully demonstrates that wherever there is sufficient water at any time of the year uninterrupted navigation can be obtained at all times, the dams being raised or lowered

in two hours, as the stage of water may require—no obstruction whatever to navigation when the water is plenty; a lock to pass through when the water is scarce. These and many more wonderful changes in our waterways are to be made before the second century of our national life draws to a close. Nature has given the Republic ample fertile soil and mineral wealth, and unequalled facilities for the home of many hundred millions of people, and we may safely trust those who come after us to prepare the land to maintain in comfort its future citizens. Water communication for heavy materials between the principal points will give this continent such advantages as must make it the manufacturer for the world.

The inhabitants of the tight little island of Britain or of the miniature states of Europe can have no conception of distance as understood by the American. The vastness of the American continent gives a corresponding width to the conceptions of space formed by its inhabitants. The State of New York is almost as large as England, while Texas is larger than France, or England and Germany combined. California has a greater area than Austria; and some other States and Territories known only by name in England, like Nevada, Colorado, Oregon, and Nebraska, have areas greater than some European kingdoms.

The distance from New York to Chicago exceeds that from London to Rome, while San Francisco is farther from the Atlantic coast than Quebec is from London. The journey from Philadelphia to New Orleans is nearly twice as great as that from London to St. Petersburg; while Jerusalem, Cairo, Cyprus, Constantinople, Astra-

khan, and Teneriffe are all nearer to Hyde Park corner than Salt Lake City is to Boston, and Salt Lake City is only three-fourths of the way across the continent. During the Civil War the frontier defended by General Grant exceeded in length a line drawn from London across the Channel and continent to Constantinople, thence through Asia Minor and Palestine to the great pyramid at Cairo, and thence still on up the Nile as far as the first cataract. And this line, if drawn, would be many miles shorter than the journey from New York to the city of Portland, Oregon.

These comparisons will help the British reader to conceptions which are as familiar to the American as the star-spangled emblem of his nationality. It will also help the European to form a slight estimate of the labor and cost by which there has been spread over this vast continent a net-work of railways which ramify it in every part. One hundred years ago America was almost as much a dark continent as Africa is now. A few adventurous pioneers and explorers had forced their way to the Father of Waters, and descended by it to the Gulf of Mexico; but a transcontinental journey was unthought of until 1803, when, at the recommendation of President Jefferson, an exploring expedition was sent to the Pacific. It was considered a wonderful feat when the little party penetrated the wilderness, crossed the mountains, and travelled down the westward slope to the mouth of the Columbia River on the Pacific. Two years and four months were required for the journey and return. Even in 1830 there were no facilities for internal travel. The States along the coast had constructed rough turnpike roads, and railways were just introduced; but the heart of the con-

tinent was practically closed to all but the most adventurous.

Two-thirds of all the mails were carried in lumbering stage-coaches, with bodies hung upon leather straps that they might swing freely in any direction without being knocked to pieces as they struggled over the corduroy roads. A trip in one of these vehicles tossed the traveller as if he were in a fishing smack upon the Channel in a storm. The other third was carried upon the backs of horses and in sulkies. Steamboats were carriers over only a few short routes, and there were only twenty-three miles of railway laid in all the land. All this was as late as 1830, just sixty-three years ago.

The discomforts of stage-coach travelling in America can scarcely be imagined in these days of palace-cars and fifty miles per hour express trains. The books of early visitors are full of invective and complaints against the horrors of an American stage. Even as late as 1850 Sir Charles Lyell said:

> "After comparing the risks it seems to be more dangerous to travel by land, in a new country, than by river steamers, and some who have survived repeated journeyings in stage-coaches show us many scars. The judge who escorted my wife to Natchez informed her that he had been upset no less than thirteen times."

To the inconvenience of stage travelling, described in this extract, must be added that of being jolted over corduroy roads, made of logs placed across the road, with nothing to fill up the inequalities of the surface. On roads where there was no competition the slowness of the stages was very exasperating. One writer says: "We scarcely averaged more than three and a half miles an hour; and in urging the drivers even to this speed, had

to submit to no little insolence into the bargain." The insolence of drivers is complained of by nearly all the English travellers at this period. Passengers had also to look after their own baggage, and to get out into the mud and rain to fasten it to the coach when the jolting had loosened the straps.

The *Democratic Review* for September, 1839, says that in 1835 the "speed of communication achieved by the express mail was deemed almost the acme of mail improvement"; and as examples it mentions the following:

ROUTES.			DAYS.	HOURS.
From New York to		Washington	1	8
"	"	Richmond, Va.	2	13
"	"	Columbia, S. C.	6	3
"	"	Milledgeville, Ga.	7	15
"	"	Mobile, Ala.	12	12
"	"	New Orleans	14	0
"	"	Columbus, O.	4	16
"	"	Indianapolis, Ind.	7	14
"	"	St. Louis, Mo.	13	10
"	"	Huntsville, Ala.	11	22
"	New Orleans to	Montgomery, Ala.	3	21
"	"	Nashville, Tenn.	10	0
"	"	Louisville, Ky.	13	0
"	"	Cincinnati, O.	14	11
"	"	Columbus, O.	16	9
"	"	Pittsburgh, Pa.	15	5

How diverse were the means of travel in those days is well illustrated by a journey from Troy to Chicago made in 1832 by Mr. Philo Carpenter. He took the Erie Canal to Buffalo, and thence went by lake steamer to Detroit. Four and a half days was then the usual time for this passage. From Detroit Mr. Carpenter went by weekly mail-coach to Niles, and then took passage from

Niles to the mouth of the St. Joseph River on a flat-boat. Thence he was conveyed by two Indians, in a bark canoe which they improvised, as far as the mouth of the Calumet, where one of the Indians was seized with a colic and they refused to proceed further. Our traveller then bargained with a settler for the use of a lumber wagon drawn by oxen; and with this he eventually reached Fort Dearborn, as Chicago was then called. The limited express now does this journey in twenty-four hours, and the traveller never has to leave his peripatetic hotel.

After 1830 came the transition period, when primitive railways began to compete with canal-boats and stage-coaches. In the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* for May 22, 1836, appeared the following advertisement, headed by a primitive-looking engine and cars:

"FARE REDUCED TO $12.—NEW EXPRESS FAST PACKET LINE, from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh—the only line exclusively for passengers, *via* Lancaster and Harrisburgh Railroads and Pennsylvania Canals. Leaves daily at 6 o'clock A.M.—through in three days. For passage apply to, at the office 51 Chestnut Street, below Third Street, John Cameron, Agent."

And two years later in the same journal appeared the following:

"FARE REDUCED! Leech & Co.'s packet line to Pittsburgh, *via* Railroads and Canals. Through in four and a half days."

Upon one of these canal-boats I saw arrive in Pittsburgh the first locomotive that ever came west of the Ohio River.

The first railway trains were drawn by horses or mules, though locomotives were early introduced from England and duplicated in America. An account of the

Mohawk and Hudson Railroad, printed in William's *Register* for 1833, concludes with the words:

"Passengers are carried upon this road in coaches, drawn by horses, and by the locomotive-engines, whose powers are not yet conclusively tried."

And from a passage in the *Charleston Patriot* for April, 1830, it would appear that other means of propulsion had been tried.

"Yesterday afternoon, a sail was set on a car on the railroad, before a large assembly of persons. It went at the rate of twelve to fifteen miles per hour, with fifteen persons on board. Afterwards thirteen persons and three tons of iron were carried at the rate of ten miles per hour. Considering the haste, and imperfect manner in which the sail was got up, the result was highly gratifying."

But the most curious of propelling machines was one invented by Detmold. This was an engine run by a horse walking on an endless platform like the early horse-ferries. This curious machine carried passengers at the rate of twelve miles an hour.

Observe how the interior of the continent has been thrown open to civilization. A Santa Fé merchant wrote in 1830: "On the day of our departure (with wagon-trains drawn by mules) from Independence we passed the last human abode upon our route; therefore, from the borders of Missouri to those of New Mexico, not even an Indian settlement greeted our eyes." And when wagons instead of pack-mules were first used for internal transportation, the extraordinary nature of the change was sufficient to justify the following in Niles' *Register* for May 8, 1850:

"A party of seventy men, with ten wagons, was recently fitting out at St. Louis, for an expedition to the Rocky Mountains! What next?"

Soon afterward a regular stage line was established, by the Pike's Peak Express Company, between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains. Transportation was effected by wagon-trains, and ox- and mule-trains; and so perfectly did this line work, that a distance of seven hundred miles was made in six days and nights. Then in the spring of 1860 the owners of the Pike's Peak stage line established what was known as the Pony Express, which served as a daily fast-mail line between the cities of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Previous to that time, over three months were required to convey mails by steamer from New York to San Francisco. This Pony Express made the distance between the railway terminus on the Missouri River and the Pacific in eight or nine days. Brave men and first-class stock were required, for Indians and highwaymen were often encountered, and the relay stations were sometimes burned, and the stock run off. Almost the entire distance of nearly two thousand miles to be traversed was one vast solitude. No delays were permitted, the mail-bags were kept constantly on the move during these long and lonely trips. Horses were changed at every station, and riders at intervals of from fifty to seventy miles. The rapid time made caused the government to send the mails overland.

From such small beginnings has grown the magnificent railroad system of America. When the success of the first road had been proved, others quickly sprang into existence; and presently all over the inhabited portions of the continent men were digging, grading, blasting, tunnelling at a rate which has hardly suffered diminution and has never ceased. The development of the resources of

the country by means of these artificial highways has gone on with marvellous rapidity.

Finally the idea of building a railway line across the entire continent began to take possession of the public mind. As early as 1846 the feasibility of such an undertaking had been discussed in Congress, and in 1849 the idea took tangible shape in the form of a bill introduced by Senator Benton. In 1851 surveying parties were sent to decide upon a route; but delay afterward resulted from differences as to the route between the Northern and Southern States. When the war removed this obstacle, acts of Congress were passed providing subsidies in gold and land to the corporations authorized to build the road. Work was commenced in 1863, but only in a dilatory way. In 1865 the work progressed at a rate unheard of before. The rails were laid at the rate of two and three miles a day, and in one instance eight miles of track were laid in one day. The line was completed and thrown open to traffic throughout its entire length in 1869, being that of the Union and Central Pacific Railroads, connecting Omaha, Nebraska, with San Francisco. Since then three other transcontinental lines have been constructed within the United States; and now every part of the great Republic is the neighbor of the other part. The Bostonian does not think of his fellow-citizen of New Orleans as one thousand six hundred miles away, but as distant only forty-odd hours. The New-Yorker does not speak of the thousand miles intervening between him and Chicago, but only of the twenty-four hours required to get there. In one sense space has been annihilated in America, and time is now the only measure of men's separation from each other.

In the sixty years which have elapsed since the first railroads were built in 1830 there has been constructed the enormous amount of one hundred and sixty-three thousand five hundred and sixty-two miles. The following table shows the amount built at the end of each decade:

UNITED STATES RAILROAD MILEAGE.

YEAR.	MILES.
1830	40
1840	2,755
1850	8,571
1860	28,920
1870	49,168
1880	87,724
1890	163,562

To appreciate the full significance of these figures one must remember that the Republic contains nearly one-half of the railroads of the world; that it has more than all Europe, in the proportion of sixteen to thirteen; that in 1880 more miles were built in the United States than in the rest of the world, and during the past ten years seventy-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight miles, or three-fifths of the total mileage of Europe, were added to its system. The world is profoundly impressed by the enterprise of the Russian government in proposing to build a railroad from the Siberian frontier to the Pacific; but in the United States, without informing the world of their intention, private capitalists without government aid have constructed in a single year more miles of line than this great Siberian railway will comprise.

The railroads of the Republic represent a total capital (paid in and borrowed) of $9,580,744,923.87, and a total of $9,756,731,825 as permanent and cash assets. About

one-sixth of the entire wealth of the nation is invested in them. They have cost per mile with their equipment a trifle over fifty thousand dollars (£10,000), which is low compared with the cost of European railroads. The theory upon which railroad building has been conducted in this country has ever been that a poor railroad is better than none, and that the service of a district must depend upon the support which it gives or is likely to give in the immediate future. It results that railroads are extended rapidly into newly settled or unsettled regions, and also that the roads, as originally built, are poorly ballasted, laid with light rails, and scantily equipped. The train service is poor and rates are high compared with the usual low American standard of rates; but altogether such lines are vastly better than none, and as good as the business supplied by the district warrants. The alternative in such a district is no railroad at all.

Passing eastward from the frontier lines in the West, we note an improvement in the road-beds, the rails, the equipment, and train service, in direct proportion to the amount of business; until when we reach the most densely settled parts of the country, where the demands upon the resources of the road are greatest, we find them being improved, rebuilt, and equipped in every respect comparable to those of Europe. The American railroad system is a very fine adaptation of means to ends.

Now, how much business does this system transact? In 1890 the total passenger mileage was 11,993,000,000. In other words, assuming each passenger to have travelled a mile, it carried the above number of passengers, or it carried nearly five hundred million passengers twenty-four miles each, that being the average journey

per passenger. Every man, woman, and child in the nation travelled that year equal to about two hundred miles by rail.

Its freight mileage was 80,000,000,000 tons. The average distance a ton of freight was carried was 124 miles, and 641,000,000 tons were carried that distance.

The gross earnings of this great system during the year 1890 were $1,074,000,000, or about two hundred million pounds. The net earnings, after paying all the charges, fixed and otherwise, were $370,000,000, but little more than four per cent. upon the capital stock and funded debt.

Railways employ three-quarters of a million of men. Since upon an average one-third of the inhabitants are wage-earners, the other two-thirds being dependent upon them, it follows that the railroad system of the country supports two and a quarter millions of the inhabitants, or not far from one-thirtieth of the whole number.

During the year 1890, 286 passengers were killed and 2,425 were injured in railway accidents. Since the passenger mileage during the year was 11,993,000,000, it is seen that the chance of being killed in a railway accident is about one to forty-one million miles travelled. Similarly the chance of being injured is but one in four million nine hundred thousand in each mile travelled. It is scarcely to be wondered at that accident insurance companies are money-making concerns. The only wonder is that, considering the smallness of the risk, any one buys a policy.

At first American railways were built under charters for short distances. The amount of capital necessary for long lines could not be obtained, and consequently lines

were constructed piecemeal by different companies. As the population increased, these were consolidated by purchase, lease, or otherwise, and are now managed as great through lines between termini hundreds of miles apart. In time these great lines absorbed branches and connecting lines, so that now the great body of the railway system is in comparatively few hands. In 1890 there were between sixteen and seventeen hundred railway corporations; but of these, forty companies control and operate about one-half of the entire mileage of the country. Again, seventy-five companies control and operate two-thirds of all the mileage, and the business transacted by these seventy-five companies was even greater proportionally than their mileage. Their receipts from passenger traffic were eighty-three and six-tenths per cent. of all; and for freight traffic eighty-five and four-tenths per cent. of all. This process of consolidation still continues going on, and it is hard to say where it will end. The advantages to the public are apparent to any one who has had experience with the two systems, of subdivision and of consolidation. Under the larger corporation roads are better in every respect, trains run more regularly and far more safely, and prices for transportation are lower. Among examples of consolidation the great Pennsylvania Railroad Company may be noted. Its network of lines aggregates five thousand four hundred and ninety-one miles, with more than a thousand miles of second, third, and fourth tracks. The gross earnings in 1884 were $80,000,000 (£16,000,000). The freight mileage was 63,000,000 tons, and the cost of moving freight perhaps the lowest in the world, being about four mills (less than a farthing) per ton per mile; and certainly no rates for traf-

fic in Europe are so low as the average received by the Pennsylvania Railroad, which was only six and a half mills per ton per mile.

It is solidly built, stone ballasted, and in every way compares favorably with the trunk lines of Europe, if we except numerous road crossings at grade, which would not be tolerated abroad. From its depot opposite New York, five times per day through trains start for the great West, with sleeping-coaches which run through without change to Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati; in special cases, when desired, the travelling party may pass on to New Orleans or even to San Francisco or the City of Mexico without change. A "dining-" or "hotel-car" is attached at proper intervals, and every luxury supplied upon these peripatetic Delmonicos. The New York Central, Erie, and Baltimore & Ohio are systems of similar character.

Chicago, the western metropolis, has also its corresponding railway systems, some of which are of great magnitude. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy has 5,138 miles; the Chicago and Northwestern, 4,254 miles; and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the work of that man of Aberdeen, Alexander Mitchell, no less than 5,685 miles under its sway.

Among the new pleasures of life now within the reach of people of means and leisure I venture to recommend for a high place the private car and the ten-thousand-mile excursion over the railway system of the Republic.

I recently travelled in one of these moving palaces with a few friends more than eleven thousand miles without change of car, starting from New York and taking in the circle New Orleans, the City of Mexico, San Diego,

San Francisco, Portland, Oregon; Tacoma, and Seattle in sight of British Columbia; and passing eastward through Salt Lake, Denver, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, to the point of starting. Each of the nine comprising the party had a separate section or sleeping apartment. The rear of the car was a commodious observation room, and as the car was attached to the end of trains an admirable view was obtained of the country as we glided along. In the middle of the car there was an excellent dining-room; the kitchen occupied the front division. Contrary to expectation, every one slept soundly. Even the ladies of the party suffered no inconvenience. The table was excellent, and how our colored *chef* managed to cook such a variety of dishes one could never understand. The day after leaving the East, the trains begin to run at slower speed, which is a great advantage. The long, straight lines of the West are much easier upon travellers than those of the East. Trains are few, and there is far less danger of accident. The European traveller, used to the jog of the short, stiff carriage, cannot imagine how easily one glides over the Western lines of the United States in a carriage seventy feet long, upon twelve wheels. If either a European or an American desires to enjoy the luxury of travel, let him engage a Pullman and take the journey in this manner. The price per day is specified, and tickets covering every part of the excursion can be purchased before starting at surprisingly low rates. He will find in every city great attention and kindness, and the railway officers seem to make it a special point to encourage the private-car idea.

While in California we visited the Lick Observatory, and to its astronomers our party are indebted for one of the grandest nights it has ever been their good fortune

to enjoy. The invitation to climb Mount Hamilton, and leaving the flat earth to spend the night upon the mountain-top gazing at the heavens, was not to be resisted. We started from San José in the morning by carriage and four horses. We passed orchards of peaches, orchards of plums, orchards of almonds, vineyards without number, oranges, lemons, walnuts—is there upon the face of the earth a five-mile drive where Pomona parades in gay succession so many of her fruits?

The American has always been fond of "commercing with the skies." His foot firmly planted upon the earth, and his mind busily employed with the development of its unequalled resources, his eye has swept the heavens and scanned them to good purpose. We are greatly tempted to recount the triumphs of the American in this fascinating and ennobling branch of study, but must refrain. The young land, however, has already won no less than six times the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society for remarkable achievements in astronomy. It is a curious fact that the Royal Institution of London was founded by an American, in 1800—Count Rumford. This debt, however, has been richly repaid by the founding of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, in 1829, by an Englishman—a sublime exchange.

We owe the present condition of this science in America largely to the early Presidents. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Quincy Adams, were all lovers of astronomy, and did much to form the liberal policy which the Government has ever since pursued in regard to it. It is high time for the world to note that so far from the American being wholly given over to materialism, he is the most generous patron of everything that

tends to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge and elevate man. How greatly wise was Washington. Because we sometimes overrate him as a saint, we are in danger of underrating him as a man, soldier, and statesman. In his address to his countrymen in 1796 is a piece of advice which should never be forgotten:

"Promote as an object of primary importance institutions for the increase and diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

The American astronomer has discovered new satellites accompanying Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter, and no less than seventy-eight asteroids are to be credited to him. The first daguerreotype of the moon was made in New York in 1840, and photography was first applied to astronomy here. It has been employed in every possible direction with the greatest success to the production of pictures of the sun, moon, planets, comets, stars, and nebulæ, and to the study of the physical condition of these bodies; to solar eclipses, to the production of stellar charts and maps on the grandest scale, and for many other purposes. It was to be expected that the new land would maintain the first position in all pertaining to photography, as the first and most successful photographic refractors were devised here. American text-books upon astronomy are in use in all the countries of the world. Sir Robert Ball, Astronomer Royal for Ireland, in an interesting paper on the fifth moon of Jupiter, which has been discovered at Lick Observatory, takes occasion to write as follows on the Americans as astronomers:

"There is no civilized nation whose inhabitants would not have experienced a thrill of pride if such an achievement as the discovery

of the two moons of Mars or of the fifth satellite of Jupiter had been made within its borders by one of its own people. As it happens, both these distinctions belong to America, and those who are fully acquainted with the matter know how valiantly the American astronomers have struggled with their difficulties and how triumphantly they have overcome them. Nor should it be forgotten in this connection that the great Lick telescope as well as the Washington telescope are both of American manufacture. Those who provided these grand instruments, those who made them, those who used them, and the nation which owns them, are all to be sincerely congratulated on the splendid results of their joint efforts."

The interdependence of the arts upon the sciences, and conversely of the sciences upon the arts, is proved in every department of human progress. Thus, in the year 1820 a piece of optical glass six inches in diameter was unattainable. Two years later Fresnel proposed his new system of making lighthouse lenses, and the demand arose for large pieces of glass in consequence of a luminous scientific idea. The arts responded, and the method of making these is now well understood. Science has thus profited by the advance in the arts which it originally itself inspired. In 1821 the largest refracting telescope in the world had five inches aperture. In 1844 that of Harvard College was fifteen inches; the Chicago telescope of 1861 is eighteen inches; the Newall telescope of 1865 is twenty-five inches; and the Washington telescope, 1873, twenty-six inches. The new telescope of Vienna, 1881, is twenty-seven; the new Pulkowa refractor, 1885, is thirty inches; the Lick telescope of 1888 is thirty-six; and the latest, 1893, the Yerkes telescope, is to be no less than forty inches. Naturally, this is for Chicago. With the exception of the Vienna and Newall telescopes, all the largest instruments were made in the United States by the famous firm of

Alvan Clark & Sons, and not only the instruments themselves, but the delicate machinery for moving them and the revolving domes, are now made here. In many branches the Republic may be said to have a monopoly. Thus the diffraction gratings used for the finest work all over the world are ruled by a machine invented by Professor Rowland, of Johns Hopkins University. Brashear's flat mirrors and prisms are the best known.

There is nothing so gratifying as to find men who have forced their way to the top and become famous against seemingly adverse influences, but which are really the most favorable influences of all—poverty, and, hence, lack of classical university education. It was a remarkable conjunction of stars to find at the same observatory Professors Barnard and Burnham. Both had started in life poor boys—Barnard, an errand boy, and then assistant in a photographic establishment in Nashville, who discovered five comets with a small telescope he had been able to purchase from his savings, winning the $200 prize for each, given by Mr. Warner. This, of course, made him famous. The Vanderbilt University, of Nashville, had discovered this genius, and there he obtained the necessary facilities. He is now the first authority in the land on double stars, and only last May passed from the Pacific through the city of New York on his way to receive the Alande medal from the French Academy, the highest prize it has in its power to bestow.

Professor Burnham has a record not less fascinating. A young man acting as stenographer for the present Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, he was famous in the scientific world before his employer suspected it. It was only by men of world-wide reputation calling to

find their colleague in obscurity that the Secretary of State became aware of the kind of stenographer who was thus modestly assisting him. And now he is the Professor Burnham whose name is a household word in every observatory in the world.

We have in Pittsburgh a not unworthy third to make the trio in Professor Keeler, a poor lad who made his own little telescope with his own hands. It is he who wrote the famous treatise on the motion of the nebulæ, a problem which the astronomers of the Old World had almost abandoned. He is now the successor of Professor Langley and Director of the Allegheny Observatory. It would be absurd to apply the term "talented" to such men as these. Talent requires education and the discipline of the schools. Genius is not to be taught. Its province is to teach others, ordinary professors included.

Professor Brashear is a child of genius if ever there was one. He was a common millwright in the iron mills of Pittsburgh in early manhood, and now, travel where we may throughout the world, at intervals there comes the inquiry from the foremost men in science, "Do you know Professor Brashear?" "I have that honor," is the reply, and then the work of this man is extolled. He occupies a hilltop overlooking Pittsburgh, his little shop nestling under the shadow of the observatory there which Professor Langley, president of the Smithsonian Institution, has done so much to make famous. A visit to his workshop is a supreme delight. Instruments made here are found in England, in France, in Japan, in India, in Syria—indeed everywhere. During our visit we asked: "What is this?" "A mirror for the observatory of Paris." "And this?" "An instrument to be used in the

study of the lines in the spectrum of the gases, for Cambridge University, England. And here is a delicate steel mirror for measuring the velocity of light. It has four surfaces, in which there must be no error exceeding one-millionth of an inch. Mounted on diamond bearings, it has to make one thousand revolutions per second. Here is a plate upon which there are 110,000 lines so accurately ruled that there is no error between any two of them of one three-millionth part of an inch."

In the hands of the physicist and astronomer these delicate instruments have opened up to us a new universe. They tell us of the constitution of the stars, of the nebulæ, and of our own sun, and are now beginning to enable us to unravel many of the hitherto hidden mysteries of our great luminary. They tell us of stars we can never see, even with the most powerful telescope; of a motion in the stars we can never know of by any other means. A volume could be filled reciting the triumphs of this humble piece of workmanship.

But the work which interested us most of all is yet to be noticed. Our readers may not generally know that an international commission, of which the United States is a member, has the subject of standard weights and measures under its supervision; but after all their labors it has been found that the length of the meridian could not be determined with the critical accuracy necessary to produce a perfect measure. Hence, neither the English yard nor the French meter is exactly accurate. An American professor, however, suggested as an invariable standard a wave of light. The international commission promptly appreciated its value, but the question was raised how and where the accurate reflecting surfaces could be made. It

was eventually decided that if they could be made at all, it was by this Pittsburgh workman. The American representative was at once commissioned to arrange with Brashear to make the attempt of producing twenty-eight plane and parallel surfaces, the limit of error allowed being one-millionth of an inch. Of course, Brashear succeeded. The planes were found even more accurate than the specification, and the standard meter is now having its absolute value determined by a standard which will never be destroyed and which is always available.

Pittsburgh is known as the headquarters of materialism, the metropolis of glass, iron, steel, coke, and coal; and she is also the headquarters of finer things—aluminum, electrical appliances, etc. Her claim to rank in even higher things than these is not to be rudely passed over. She is the home of one of the greatest benefactors of the age, Mr. Westinghouse, who here manufactures his air-brake; and she has produced not only amid but through her smoky forges the workman-genius, Professor Brashear, the greatest and justly the most famous of all her citizens.

We place this quartet, Barnard, Burnham, Keeler, and Brashear, before the world as a special product of the Republic. Match it who can! They are all such modest men that I shall have difficulty in making my peace with them for giving to their records publicity outside of the scientific world.

The telescope at the Lick Observatory is the largest in the world. Through it the moon was brought, as it were, within one hundred and twenty miles of us, its mountains pointed out and named. The stars were made small diamond points of light. We were made more than ever part, but how small a part, of the universe.

The diameter of the dome over this telescope is seventy-five feet. Since visiting it we have stood in Galileo's observatory at Florence. His telescope we lifted with our hands. The Lick telescope weighs many tons.

It is not the astronomer who knows most about the heavenly bodies that laughs at the theory that the sun spots affect the earth's climate. Even "there is blood upon the moon" as an indication of certain coming conditions might have its origin in something other than pure imagination. "Blood upon the moon" seems as reasonable as "spots upon the sun" as a cause of change in mundane conditions.

We left the observatory next morning, feeling that if ever baffled and overcome in the struggle of life, and in the mood which prompts men to seek a retreat, instead of selecting the cloister we should seek the mountain-top and beg the astronomers to admit us to the glorious fellowship of their guild and thus divert our eyes from earth to heaven.

It is with railways as with manufactures: consolidation into the hands of a few great corporations seems the inevitable tendency. The saving and efficiency thus effected over the hundred former disjointed petty corporations, each with its officers and staffs, are so manifestly great that nothing can prevent merging. What the outcome of this massing of forces is to be, is difficult to foretell, but that it is in accordance with economic laws is certain; therefore we can proceed without fear. We are on sure ground; hence the final result must be beneficial. If corporations grow to gigantic size and attempt to use their powers like giants, forgetting that they are yet, however gigantic, the creatures and servants of the state, we may

safely trust the people to deal with them. There is no problem which an educated people cannot and will not solve in the interests of the people when solution is required.

In no other country is travel so comfortable and luxurious. For this we are chiefly indebted to a remarkable American invention, the sleeping-car, without which such extended lines would have remained an imperfect instrument for the consolidation of the people. Journeys between the oceans, requiring four to six days and nights to perform, or even between Chicago and other Western cities to New York and the East, which occupy but twenty-four to forty-eight hours' consecutive travel, could have been undertaken only in extreme cases had the unfortunate traveller been required to sit up, as in the old-fashioned cars. Well do I remember that, when a clerk in the service of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, a tall, spare, farmer-looking kind of man came to me once when I was sitting on the end seat of the rear car looking over the line. He said he had been told by the conductor that I was connected with the railway company, and he wished me to look at an invention he had made. With that he drew from a green bag a small model of a sleeping-berth for railway cars. He had not spoken a minute, when, like a flash, the whole range of the discovery burst upon me. "Yes," I said; "that is something which this continent must have." I promised to address him upon the subject as soon as I had talked over the matter with my superiors.

I could not get that blessed sleeping-car out of my head. Upon my return I laid it before Mr. Scott, declaring that it was one of the inventions of the age. He

remarked: "You are enthusiastic, young man, but you may ask the inventor to come and let me see it." I did so, and arrangements were made to build two trial cars, and run them on the Pennsylvania Railroad. I was offered an interest in the venture, which, of course, I gladly accepted. Payments were to be made ten per cent. per month after the cars were delivered, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company guaranteeing to the builders that the cars should be kept upon its line and under their control.

This was all very satisfactory until the notice came that my share of the first payment was $217.50 (£43). How well I remember the exact sum; but two hundred and seventeen dollars and a half was as far beyond my means as if it had been millions. I was earning $50 (£10) per month, however, and had prospects, or at least I always felt that I had. What was to be done? I decided to call on the local banker, Mr. Lloyd, state the case, and boldly ask him to advance the sum upon my interest in the affair. He put his hand upon my shoulder and said: "Why, of course, Andie, you are all right. Go ahead. Here is the money." It is a proud day for a man when he pays his last note, but not to be named in comparison with the day in which he makes his first one, and *gets a banker to take it.* I have tried both, and I know. The cars paid the subsequent payments from their earnings. I paid my first note from my savings so much per month, and thus did I get my foot upon fortune's ladder. It is easy to climb after that. A triumphant success was scored. And thus came sleeping-cars into the world. "Blessed be the man who invented sleep," says Sancho Panza. Thousands upon thousands will echo the sentiment: Blessed be the man who invented sleeping-cars.

t me record his name and testify my gratitude to him.
y dear, quiet, modest, truthful, farmer-looking friend,
Mr. T. T. Woodruff. He has only recently passed away,
almost without public notice, but the future will surely do
full justice to the inventor of the sleeping-car. One of the
satisfactions of my life is that we remained intimate
friends, and that among his last words was a kind message
to me. Peace to his ashes! Mr. Woodruff must stand as
the world's benefactor.

This brings us to another remarkable man, George M.
Pullman, as great a genius in organization and administra-
tion as Woodruff was as an inventor. It did not take this
typical American of Chicago very long to see what part
sleeping-cars were bound to play upon the American con-
tinent; and while a few cautious old gentlemen in Phila-
delphia were managing the original cars, in that peculiar
Philadelphian way which is so amusing, making ten bites
of even the smallest cherry, this young man laid his daring
plans. He contracted for twenty or thirty cars, while the
Philadelphia people hesitated to engage for one. The
result was that Mr. Pullman completely eclipsed them. I
soon saw that we had a genius to deal with, and advised
the old concern to capture Mr. Pullman. There was a
capture, but it did not quite take that form. They found
themselves swallowed by this ogre, and Pullman monopo-
lized everything. It was well that it should be so. The
man had arisen who could manage, and the tools belonged
to him. To-day his company has a paid-up capital of
millions of dollars, and its ramifications extend every-
where. Mr. Pullman is a remarkable man, for he not
only manages this business, he has created it. Before
he appeared upon the scene a sleeping-car company ha

no rights which a railway company was bound to respect. Mr. Pullman has made the business respectable, and the travelling public is very much his debtor. Should Mr. Pullman's life be spared, I prophesy that the young contractor for elevating buildings in Chicago will leave a monument for himself in his new industrial town of Pullman which will place his name with those of Salt of Saltaire and Godin of Guise. A short roll of honor this, which contains the list of those who, springing from honest poverty, have made fortunes through honest toil, and then—ah, here comes the secret of the shortness of the list—and then turning back to look upon the poor workers where they started, have thereafter devoted their fortunes and abilities so to improve the industrial system as to give to that class a better chance in life than it was possible for them otherwise to obtain. Mr. Pullman has made a start upon this toilsome path. His future deserves to be carefully watched. He has the prayers of all good people for his success.

If ever aërial navigation becomes practicable it will, like railways, attain its highest development in America; for here men's lives are too full of activity to permit lounging in parlor-cars drawn wearily by a locomotive at only forty or fifty miles an hour when it is possible to soar through the air and outstrip their own symbolic eagle in its flight.

We must not forget to note the rapid growth of street railways, which in 1891 extended 5,783 miles. The recent improvements in electricity as a motor bid fair to bring these lines into competition for short distances with the steam railways. The plans are maturing to build sixty miles of an electric line connecting towns in New

Jersey, and for connecting Baltimore and Washington: and indeed throughout the settled portions of the country projects abound for this new means of transport.

The American railway system must be acknowledged by all as far in advance of anything known elsewhere, both in comfort and in cheapness as far as the passenger is concerned, and, what is of much more consequence, as far as the growth of the country is concerned, in cheapness of freight transportation; and there is to be credited to it during this decade the fastest passenger transportation that the world has yet seen. Forty miles per hour including stops is now the ordinary speed of limited trains between large cities; but this is far exceeded by the Empire State Express, which makes the time regularly between New York and Buffalo in eight hours and forty minutes, the distance being four hundred and thirty-nine miles, an average speed of fifty and six-tenths miles per hour. This is to be continued to Chicago at the rate of fifty miles per hour for the present, which will give the United States a train in both directions between Chicago and New York, a distance of nine hundred and seventy-nine miles, in twenty hours. There is nothing to compare with this in the world to-day, so that the motherland, which has hitherto boasted the greatest speed in its trains, must now yield the palm to her child.

In this connection we hear of still more advanced ideas which will give us one hundred miles per hour by means of electricity. It seems highly probable that this will be accomplished before the 1900 edition of "Triumphant Democracy" is issued.

Nature has done much for America as regards facilities for transportation. Her inland seas and her great

rivers lie ready at hand awaiting only the application of steam to vessels to render them magnificent highways. The Great Lakes not only constitute one of the grandest geographical features of the North American continent, but they also afford the largest system of deep-water inland navigation on the globe. A vessel sailing round the edges of these American lakes traverses a greater distance than from New York to Liverpool.

Their commercial importance can hardly be realized by those not acquainted with the geography and resources of the country. The statistics of transportation upon them prove the extraordinary extent, productive power, and trade possibilities of the territory which is tributary to this greatest of all lacustrine systems. Resting upon the Great Lakes lie the States of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York—eight empires, embracing 416,360 square miles, which according to the recent census have a population of 26,029,533. More tonnage already passes through the canal which connects two of these lakes than through the Suez Canal.

The rivers of America are also the largest in the world. After the Amazon and the La Plata comes the Mississippi, with an outflow of over two million cubic feet per hour. This mighty river, which the Indians called in their picturesque language Father of Waters, is equal in bulk to all the rivers of Europe combined, exclusive of the Volga. It is equal to three Ganges, nine Rhones, twenty-seven Seines, or eighty Tibers. "The mighty Tiber chafing with its flood," says the Master. How would he have described the Mississippi on the rampage after a spring flood, when it pours down its mighty volume of water and

overflows the adjacent lowlands! Eighty Tibers in one! Burns' picture of the pretty little Ayr in flood has been extolled where the foaming waters came down "an acre braid." What think you of a tumbling sea twenty miles "braid" instead of your "acre," dear Robin? The length of the Mississippi is two thousand two hundred and fifty miles, while its navigable tributaries exceed twenty thousand miles. The Father of Waters collects his substance from water-sheds covering an area of more than two and a half million square miles.

The Hudson is navigable by large steamers as far as Albany, one hundred and fifty miles inland from the Atlantic. There are many other rivers in which the like is possible. Many well-known sea-ports are considerable distances from the coast properly speaking. Such are Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and, on the Pacific coast, Portland. The presence of inland ports, with extensive docks, piers, and large craft, is a constant source of astonishment to the European traveller. The sight of ships of three thousand tons burden, fifteen hundred miles from salt water, is sufficient to surprise one in whom the sight of rigged ships has always been associated with the sea. Walking along the quays of the lake cities, Buffalo, Toledo, Chicago, or Duluth, one might well imagine himself at the sea-coast.

These great natural waterways have been supplemented and connected with each other by artificial canals. There were in the United States in 1890 2,726 miles of canals, which had cost $182,726,000 (£36,500,000). Nearly two thousand miles of canal had, however, been abandoned, having been rendered valueless by the superior facilities offered by railroads. Many of the canals still

worked were reported not to be paying expenses, and part of these also will no doubt soon be abandoned. The freight traffic on canals in 1890 amounted to 21,043,609 tons, yielding a gross income of $4,089,132 (£818,000).

The early history of navigation in America presents as many curious contrasts and interesting facts as do other divisions of the history of American progress. From beginnings which to us seem ludicrously small and crude, the greatest results have come. At the beginning of the century a successful steamboat had not been built. For twenty or thirty years inventors in France, Scotland, England, and America had been working and planning to apply a principle which they saw was perfectly applicable; but lacking knowledge of one or two little essentials, they only passed from failure to failure, yet constantly getting nearer and nearer to success. John Fitch and Oliver Evans are the names of the earliest representatives of America in this great struggle.

After each experimenter had contributed some new light, an American engineer, Robert Fulton, gathered, in 1807, the multiplicity of lights into one great flame, and made practicable by the help of all what each had tried in vain to achieve by himself. Fulton's "Clermont" was the first commercially successful steamboat ever built. A boat of one hundred and sixty tons burden, she was launched on the Hudson in 1807, and ran over a year as a passenger boat between New York and Albany. The first steamboat of the Mississippi Valley was built by Fulton in 1811, and was called the "Orleans." She had a stern wheel, and went from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, more than two thousand miles, in fourteen days. The next year Henry Bell, of Scotland, built the "Comet," of thirty tons, which

plied between Glasgow and Greenock, and in 1813 sailed around the coasts of the British Isles. In 1819 the "Savannah," three hundred and eighty tons burden, crossed the Atlantic from America, visited Liverpool, St. Petersburg, and Copenhagen, and returned. Nineteen years later the "Great Western," one thousand three hundred and forty tons, and the "Sirius," steamed across the Atlantic from England; and only two years afterward, in 1840, the present justly celebrated Cunard line was established, inaugurating an era of ocean travel which has revolutionized human life, and brought the Old and New Worlds within six days of each other. On a Thursday afternoon one sails from Queenstown on the "Paris," and on the succeeding Thursday morning is at home in New York. Five days fourteen and a half hours from land to land. This year, leaving Sunday, the passenger by the new Cunarders may be in his New York home Friday evening—only five nights at sea.

Internal navigation has an equally interesting history. The earliest transportation by water was effected by means of keel-boats. These drifted down well enough with the current, but had to be forced up stream with setting-poles. The keel-boat was long and narrow, sharp at the bow and stern, and of light draft. From fifteen to twenty hands were required to propel it. The crew, divided equally on each side, took their places upon the running-boards extending along the whole length of the craft; and each man setting one end of a long pole in the bottom of the river, brought the other to his shoulder, and bending over it, with his face nearly to the plank, exerted all his force against the boat, treading it from under him. While those on one side were thus passing down in line

to the stern, those on the other, facing about, were passing toward the bow, drawing their poles floating on the water. The keel-boatmen kept their rifles constantly within reach in case Indians should attempt to surprise them. Their journeys often lasted several months. These keel-boatmen, living a semi-barbarous life, developed traits more befitting the aboriginal savage than the descendants of Europeans. Human life with them appears to have had little more sanctity than the lives of the animals they shot on the river-banks. The descriptions of the now extinct keel-boatmen left by contemporary writers surpass in horrible detail anything ever written of Western cowboys or miners. They have now disappeared before steamboats and civilization as completely as the wildernesses amongst which their lives were mostly spent. With other barbarisms of "the good old times," they have sunk into oblivion. R. I. P.

One of the earliest packet lines we read about is the following:

"On the 11th of January, 1794, a line of two keel-boats with bullet-proof covers and port-holes, and provided with cannon and small arms, was established between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, each making a trip once in four weeks."

The defensive equipment of these keel-boats is very suggestive. Nothing enables one better to contrast "now" and "then."

It is interesting to read how our fathers occasionally compared the comforts of their days with the discomforts of our grandfathers; how proudly they spoke of improvements, and how delighted and content they were with accommodations which seem to us comfortless and mean.

Here is a characteristic sample, written about 1845, when steamboats, uncomfortable and slow, were everywhere replacing lines of stages or horse-packets.

"In leaving Bangor, Maine, in a steamboat, though only for a short trip, I am thereby reminded of the difference which has taken place in our city, and throughout the country, in the mode of travelling between the present time and only twenty years since. I say twenty years, because it is about twenty years since I left the paternal home, and in the good sloop 'Betsy' took passage for Bangor, where we arrived in safety after eight days' toil. The usual mode of travelling then, from Bangor, was by the lumber coasters; in which passengers, male and female, were stowed away in the few berths in the cabin, or sprawled around upon the uncarpeted floor. There was indeed a semi-packet with a few extra berths hung round, with a narrow and rather scanty red bombazette frill. But mean as these accommodations may now (1845) be considered, they afforded the best means of conveyance between Bangor and Massachusetts, and during the rainy seasons in the spring and fall the only conveyance; for instead of three daily stages west, as now, the mail was carried once a week only, and then on horseback, between Bangor and Augusta. During the winter, to be sure, Moses Burley conveyed the mail, and occasionally a passenger or two, in a sleigh with a tandem team; and during the summer in a ricketty covered wagon. . . . Then there was no small mail route to any of the towns above Bangor, and the old register in the monthly advertisement of the postmaster, of two fingers long, enumerated letters for the whole region round about. These reminiscences have brought vividly to mind the appearance of the village as it was then. There were but five brick buildings erected, including the old distil house, that has since been removed to give place to the City Point Block. There were but eighteen stores, a few mechanics' shops, one bridge, and that the Kenduskeay, where toll was required, the court-house, now city hall, a wooden gaol, three taverns, and a few dwellings."

How delightfully confidential this old writer is! He

has long since been gathered to his fathers, and even his name is forgotten, but he must have been a good man, who took an intelligent interest in what he saw.

Though steamboats offered greater facilities and comfort to travellers than sloops or stages, yet they were miserably conducted, and often dangerous. Indeed, the frequency of collisions and explosions was appalling. It became common to have "safety-barges" towed by the steamboat; and an illustration of a boat of this character appended to an advertisement in the *Commercial Advertiser* for June 16, 1830, shows that the engine and boiler (and apparently the paddle-wheel) were placed right at the bow, as far away as possible from the passengers on the "safety-barge." In 1834–5 Miss Martineau found steamboat travelling in the West proverbially dangerous. She says:

"I was rather surprised at the cautions I received throughout the South about choosing wisely among the Mississippi steamboats; and at the question gravely asked, as I was going on board, whether I had a life-preserver with me. I found that all my acquaintances on board had furnished themselves with life-preservers, and my surprise ceased when we passed boat after boat on the river delayed or deserted on account of some accident."

Since that day the stringent regulations which provide for governmental inspection of all boats have made steamboat travel upon the rivers as safe as it is delightful. An excursion from St. Louis or Cincinnati to New Orleans upon one of the floating palaces which now traverse the lower Ohio and Mississippi ranks as one of the most enjoyable modes in which a holiday can be spent.

The traffic floated upon these Western rivers will surprise many. Take the Ohio, for instance; a competent

authority has stated that the total of its trade from its head at Pittsburgh to its mouth at New Cairo, about a thousand miles, exceeded in 1874 $800,000,000, or £160,000,000, a sum greater than the total exports of the nation about which we hear so much. It is upon the Ohio that the cheapest transportation in the world exists. Coal, coke, and other bulky articles are transported at the rate of one-twentieth of a cent (one-fortieth of a penny) per ton per mile. This is made possible by means of barges, many of which are lashed together and pushed ahead by a steam tug. The current, of course, carries along the floating mass. The steamer has little to do but to guide while descending, and to tow the empty barges back. The records of 1884 show that there were owned in the one city of Pittsburgh for use on the river four thousand three hundred and twenty-three vessels, including barges, with a tonnage of one million seven hundred thousand. One hundred and sixty-three of these were steamboats. Twenty thousand miles of navigable waterway lie before these Pittsburgh craft, and many thousand miles more are ready to be opened by easily constructed improvements in the lesser streams. This work the general government is steadily performing year after year, as well as improving the existing navigation. Even to-day a boat can start from Pittsburgh for a port four thousand three hundred miles distant, as far as from New York to Queenstown and half-way back, or as far away as the Baltic ports are from New York.

From what a small acorn has the mighty oak of river navigation grown! Here is the very first prophecy of coming events connected with the use of these great streams, and from whom, of all men, should such a proph-

ecy more fittingly come than from a minister? Here are the words of the Rev. Manasseh Cutter, D.D., LL.D., of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who was at once minister, scientist, statesman, and the agent of the New England and Ohio Company, which started at Marietta, Ohio. Blessed man, he it was who succeeded in getting passed the famous ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in the old Northwest Territory, and secured that fair domain forever to freedom. Here is the prediction he made in a pamphlet published in 1787:

"The current down the Mississippi and Ohio, for heavy articles that suit the Florida (Mississippi) and West Indian markets, such as Indian corn, flour, beef, timber, etc., *will be more loaded than any stream on earth.* ! ! ! ! It was found by late experiments that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio; and it is worthy of observation that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to be of infinite service in all our river navigation."

That was written twenty years before Fulton's practically successful application of steam to navigation, and a quarter of a century before the first steamboat which ever ploughed the western rivers was built at Pittsburgh. Six years after the prediction about steamboats the country hailed, as a wonderful evidence of progress, the inauguration of a regular line of sail and oar boats between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. Two boats were built for the line. They made the round journey every four weeks, so that every two weeks a traveller had a chance to start, and take a two weeks' journey on the beautiful river. I wish, as I write, that we could do so now. This was our Nile in a dahabeah right here at home. Why do we not try it now? What could be more delightful than the Ohio in a small boat moved by oar and sail? We have

not the time, we say. Ah, ladies and gentlemen, we have not the sense.

But just listen to the precautions deemed essential, as late as the beginning of the century, which the advertisement sets forth:

"No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover made proof against rifle or musket balls, with convenient portholes for firing out. Each of the boats is armed with six pieces carrying a pound ball, also a number of good muskets amply supplied with ammunition."

So the tedium of the journey, you see, was likely to be relieved by a skirmish now and then with the noble savage, and our travellers were not expected not to shoot back from under their ironclad cover. The first steamboat troubled the waters in 1811. In 1810 we find *Cramer's Magazine Almanac* making the startling announcement:

"A company has been formed for the purpose of navigating the river Ohio, in large boats, to be propelled by the power of steam-engines. The boat now on the stocks is one hundred and thirty-eight feet keel, and calculated for a freight as well as a passenger boat, between Pittsburgh and the falls of the Ohio."

It is gratifying to learn that in one year the "New Orleans," for such was the name, actually cleared $20,000 (£4,000). No wonder the building of steamboats rapidly increased. There is nothing so creative as a good dividend.

The steamboats plying between New York and Boston, and also upon the Hudson between New York and Albany, have always impressed the foreign traveller as unequalled. The dimensions of some of the floating palaces are noteworthy. The tonnage of the "Puritan,"

of the Fall River line, for instance, is four thousand nine hundred and fifty-three registered tons, making her the largest inland steamboat in the world; speed, twenty-one knots per hour; length over all, four hundred and twenty feet; width, ninety-one feet. She has sleeping accommodations for one thousand two hundred passengers, is lighted throughout by electricity, and has electric light, call bells and steam-heat in every stateroom. A sister vessel is being constructed which will be twenty feet longer than the "Puritan," and the largest side-wheel steamboat ever made.

The journey from Utica to Schenectady by canal, a distance of eighty miles, took twenty-two hours, while the packet to Rochester, one hundred and sixty miles, took forty-six hours; much longer than is now required to go from New York to St. Paul, Minnesota, one thousand three hundred and twenty-two miles.

In the sixty years under review, we have displaced the stuffy, slow canal-boat as a mode of travel, by the limited express; the small steamer with its safety barge, by the floating palaces; and our coast and river merchant marine have grown to enormous proportions. Twenty-five thousand five hundred and forty-five vessels of all classes are employed, with a tonnage of 7,624,304. Of these 6,067 are steamers, and 8,919 sailing vessels, the remainder being unrigged craft, but not including canal-boats. The freight moved by this great fleet in 1890 summed up 168,078,320 tons. There are 109,861 persons employed in water transportation, and they receive $39,864,936 in wages.

The detailed results of the investigations made by the Census Office are too extensive to be treated here, but

nong the gross totals are those which show that in the ensus year the various systems of transportation in this ountry carried 808,530,868 tons of freight, and the aston- shing number of nearly 2,600,000,000 passengers; that they employed nearly 1,000,000 people; and that the estimated valuation of railways and steamers was $10,361,- 109,450.

If there is anything calculated to make man thankful for the blessings which he enjoys in this last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is the study of the conditions of life under which our ancestors lived. Not that we can form even an estimate of these. Discomforts which would make life unendurable to us were unnoticed by them, and probably they suffered in many ways at which we cannot even guess. If the record of their miserable mode of life were complete, the picture would without doubt be even more repulsive than it is. Auguste Comte has gravely propounded a religion of humanity which he says is worshipful because of its victories over nature, and over the discomforts by which the life of primitive man was surrounded. There have been religions founded on less worthy grounds than these. Man has indeed played a wonderful part in the world; and nothing can be more marvellous than the way in which he has subjugated the forces of nature, and yoked them to his chariot and his boat.

But let us be modest, for as sure as fate those of the next generation, looking back upon this, our present life, are to contrast their happier condition with ours, and pity us as we have ventured to pity our forefathers. The march of humanity is upward and onward, for all the countless ages to come. Improved physical conditions

react upon mental conditions, and some day a man is to read with surprise that once there was upon earth a state of warfare between divisions called nations, that Europe once constantly taught nine millions of men how best to butcher their fellows, and called this vile work a profession. The coming man will marvel that intemperance prevailed in these barbarous days, that there were paupers and criminals without number, and that even in Britain the many were kept down by the few, that the soil there was held and used by a class, and that a million sterling was taken from the public revenues every year by one family and spent in vulgar ostentation, a family which was an insult to every other family in the land, since it involved the born inferiority of all others. He is to read of all this as we now read of the armored keel-boat and the horse locomotive, and thank his stars he was not born as we have been before the dawn of civilization. "As one man's meat is another man's poison," so one age's civilization is the next age's barbarism. We shall all be barbarians to our great-great-grandchildren.

We have not travelled far yet, with all our progress upon the upward path, but we still go marching on. That which is, is better than that which has been. It is the mission of Democracy to lead in this triumphant march, and improve step by step the conditions under which the masses live; to ring out the Old, and to ring in the New; and in this great work the Republic rightly leads the van.

CHAPTER XIX

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"Friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."
—JEFFERSON.

AS we have endeavored to point out, there is a great difference between the old and new lands in the management of their domestic concerns. This difference becomes radical in the domain of foreign affairs. Indeed, it is no longer a difference: it is a complete contrast. What the old land does the new land avoids; what the one land does not the other does, in dealing with other nations. The consequences of the two diverse policies are seen in diametrically different results. The huge debt, the constant war, or fear of war, and the international jealousies which surround the parent land contrast strangely with the freedom of the Republic from all these ills. The excuse made by British statesmen for the unfortunate contrast presented is that the Republic has no strong neighbors, and no colonies or dependencies far distant from its shores which it is bound to guard. I am persuaded that the cause of difference lies deeper than this. No nation is so temptingly placed as the Republic for becoming engaged in aggressive warfare. The materials lie around her upon every side. Had America been cursed by monarchical institutions, which ever breed strong military

classes, to whom, as to the royal family and the court, peaceful avocations are discreditable as compared with military operations, there can be little question but that the American monarchy would have involved itself in endless disputes, treaties, and entangling alliances with other powers, necessitating large standing armies and fleets, from which would have come endless wars, or fear of wars. The Republic began early to pursue the paths of peace. The messages of each succeeding President enforced the words of Jefferson, which we have placed at the head of this chapter, and the sayings of American statesmen abound with kindred sentiments. Washington, in his farewell address, gave the key-note of American policy. He said:

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . . So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop."

Madison's view of the Republic's mission was:

"To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations; to prefer, in all cases, amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms; to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones."

Jefferson further lays down as "our first and fundamental maxim," "never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-atlantic affairs." And thus was reached the great doctrine, bearing the name of Monroe, declar-

ing to the powers of Europe that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." "Our policy in regard to Europe," the Monroe message continued, "is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve these relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none."

This chapter could be filled with extracts from Presidents' messages and from other sources, all preaching the same important lesson, that the Republic must be at peace with its neighbors and with the world. I need not, however, dwell upon the past. It is with the present we have to deal.

Let me give, then, a short statement of the course recently pursued by the Monarchy and by the Republic in the management of similar emergencies in their relations to other states. The one has a canal through Egypt and the other a railway across the Isthmus of Panama to guard, that the traffic of the world may be unimpeded. A few years ago word was received in Washington that a disturbance had broken out at one end of the railway in the Republic of Colombia, and that there was grave danger that railway communication across the Isthmus would be interfered with. A force was at once despatched to the scene, and the admiral sailed under the following instructions, which were published in the newspapers that the nation and the world might see and understand all:

[TELEGRAM.]

"NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *April* 3, 1885.

"REAR-ADMIRAL JAMES E. JOUETT, U. S. S. 'TENNESSEE,' PENSACOLA, FLA.:

"In addition to the force under your command in the Steamships 'Tennessee,' 'Swatara,' 'Alliance,' and 'Galena,' all of which should be at Aspinwall upon your arrival, you will be re-enforced by about two hundred marines, despatched to-day from New York by the steamship 'City of Para' with tents and camp equipage. To provide for contingencies further supplies will be sent at once.

"The duty you are called upon to perform calls for the exercise of great discretion. The object of the expedition is the performance by the United States of their engagements to preserve the neutrality of and keep open the transit from Colon to Panama, and further to protect the lives and property of American citizens.

"The circumstances as understood, from which the necessity of the expedition has arisen, are in general, that a steamship belonging to Americans has been seized at Colon by an armed force and goods in transit taken from her, her officers and the American Consul imprisoned, and the transit across the Isthmus interrupted. With the consequences involved in these past acts you are not concerned. Your sole duty is confined to seeing that a free and uninterrupted transit across the Isthmus is restored and maintained and that the lives and property of American citizens are protected.

"If on your arrival at the Isthmus order shall have been restored and the Colombian authorities are adequate to the protection of life and property and the maintenance of the free transit, you will interfere in no respect with the constituted authorities, but report and await orders. You have no part to perform in the political or social disorders of Colombia, and it will be your duty to see that no irritation or unfriendliness shall arise from your presence at the Isthmus.

"The exercise of humanity towards American citizens in exigent distress must be left to your sound discretion.

"W. C. WHITNEY,

"*Secretary of the Navy.*"

Note how careful that statesman, Mr. Whitney, was to limit the operations of his admiral to the maintenance of the free and uninterrupted communication which his government had guaranteed! How solicitous that the authorities and people of Colombia should be so treated that no unfriendliness or irritation could possibly arise! The admiral found, upon arrival, that the disturbance was over, and soon returned. Not a shot was fired. Now the great point here is that not a voice was raised in all America suggesting that any part of Colombia should be held, or annexed, or that the people of that State should be in any way interfered with. Consequently no suspicions were aroused, no enemies created. American interests were not pleaded as a warrant for continued occupation. The great and powerful Republic was at Colon as the friend of its small and weak sister, but upon no account to interfere with her even for Colombia's own seeming good. Colombia might manage or, seemingly to American ideas, might mismanage her own affairs as she chose. The admiral would no more have thought of interfering than he would had he been on the shores of Ireland and doomed to stand and see a poor tenant farmer evicted, or upon the shores of Scotland and had seen a poor crofter abused. If the quarrellers in Colombia had attempted to interrupt railway communication across the Isthmus he would have protected that, and in so doing would have received the thanks of all the good people of Colombia, but there his powers ceased.

President Cleveland referred to this episode in his message to Congress. For the benefit of the unfortunate people of the Monarchy, and more especially for that of its statesmen, I quote the passage in full:

"Emergencies growing out of civil war in the United States of Colombia demanded of the government at the beginning of this administration the employment of armed force to fulfil its guarantees under the thirty-fifth article of the treaty of 1816 in order to keep the transit open across the Isthmus of Panama. Desirous of exercising only the powers expressly reserved to us by the treaty, and mindful of the rights of Colombia, the forces sent to the Isthmus were instructed to confine their action to 'positively and efficaciously' preventing the transit and its accessories from being 'interrupted or embarrassed.' The execution of this delicate and responsible task necessarily involved police control where the local authority was temporarily powerless, but always in aid of the sovereignty of Colombia. The prompt and successful fulfilment of its duty by this government was highly appreciated by the government of Colombia, and has been followed by expressions of its satisfaction. High praise is due to the officers and men engaged in this service. The restoration of peace on the Isthmus by the reëstablishment of the constituted government there being thus accomplished, the forces of the United States were withdrawn."

Leaving for the present the Colombian difficulty as peacefully settled, not only without one trace of dissatisfaction upon the part of the weaker power to plague the Republic hereafter, but proving the Republic to be "the friend in need" of its weaker sister, let us see how the Monarchy managed a similar task imposed upon her.

England was apprised that a rebellion against the infamous ruler of Egypt had broken out, and, being bound with France to exercise dual control, she besought that country to interfere jointly with her in suppressing this righteous uprising of an oppressed people. The government of France was anxious to do so, but the people of France unmistakably pronounced against this—a proof that Democracy is beginning at last to show its legitimate fruit there. Instead of sending an expedition

to guard the canal, which, by the way, was never endangered, the government sent a large force to Egypt and began an aggressive campaign to prevent the people of Egypt from having such rulers as they desired. From that unfortunate day to this Britain has gone deeper and deeper into trouble. Already $100,000,000 (£20,000,000) and many lives have been sacrificed; and for what? Absolutely nothing. The criminal side of the question has so shocked the moral sense of the best portion of the Liberal party that Mr. Gladstone deemed it necessary, upon the eve of an appeal to the nation, to confess that the Soudan campaign was a mistake. It was worse than that, Mr. Gladstone; it was a crime, which would sully your fame forever were it not known that you had little or no part in it, but were overruled by the aristocratic element which you thought essential to keep in your Cabinet.

It may be argued that Britain was bound to interfere and support upon the throne a sovereign against the wishes of the Egyptian people, though this seems a strange position for so advanced a nation to occupy; or it may be said that Britain had neither right nor wish to interfere with the internal affairs of Egypt, but only wished to guard the canal. It matters not which position is assumed, the fact remains that the policy pursued has not produced the desired result upon either hypothesis, and the end arrived at is in lamentable contrast with the different policy pursued by the Republic. The strong Republic sees clearly from the start what end it has in view, and aims solely for that end, achieves it, and withdraws. The weak Monarchy, ever subject to the popular breeze, the creature of circumstance, can have no decided

policy. The British Constitution makes Britain the Micawber of nations, always looking for "something to turn up." The Republic has complied with its treaty obligations and retired from the scene, with the thanks of its weak neighbor. We are yet to learn what is to be the end of the management of the Monarchy. It is still entangled in Egypt. So far no contrast could be more striking than that between it and the Republic.

Let us pause here a moment to contrast the positions of the two admirals upon their respective stations at Colon and Alexandria. The republican official had every interest in maintaining peace. The responsibility of firing a shot was appalling. Behind him stood his superior, the Secretary of the Navy, every line of whose cautious but explicit instructions seems to regard hostilities with aversion. Behind the government, the admiral knew, stood the American people, loath to hurt the feelings of a weak neighbor and determined never to interfere with its internal affairs. No possible reward, no glory, would fall to this admiral from entangling his country in war. He would have been held to the strictest accountability for every drop of blood shed, and the verdict of public opinion at first would have been disposed to go decidedly against him. On the other hand, the surest mode of earning the thanks of Congress and of his country was so to conduct himself as to secure peace without firing a shot. So stood Admiral Jouett, the man of war converted into the messenger of peace. This is the attitude of the Democracy.

How was it with Admiral Seymour, the servant of a monarch? Let him refrain from bombarding from behind his iron walls the few miserable defences in Alexandria

Bay, and never in his history perhaps would such an opportunity occur again to rescue his name from obscurity. If he decided to be patient and remain at peace, half-pay and oblivion would be his reward. He knew that if he began to bombard the Egyptian defences the ruling class, which alone could reward him, would applaud. Even the Queen, a woman, who should shudder at war and not publicly parade her approval of slaughter, would publicly congratulate him, and the Prince of Wales and all the aristocracy which move round the court, together with the military and naval classes who flourish only through war, would extol him to the skies. The government tempted the man to fire. All the forces behind him urged him on; while, as we have seen, all the forces behind the republican admiral held him to peace.

Admiral Seymour might have thus reasoned: "Negotiate this trouble peacefully, I remain poor and obscure. There is no danger; I am perfectly safe behind these iron walls; just open my guns, and fame and honor and rank and wealth are mine." He yielded. Mr. Gladstone himself stood up in Parliament and advocated a peerage and a pension to the admiral who was thus unfairly bribed to begin the bombardment of Alexandria. Fortunately, not even Mr. Gladstone could force the Liberal party to grant the pension. Admiral Seymour was compelled to take in cash his thirty pieces of silver.

Fellow-countrymen, what would you think of a judge upon the bench deciding his own cause, where a verdict for the defendant meant to the judge obscurity and half-pay, and a verdict for the plaintiff meant a peerage and twenty-five thousand pounds? Yet this was precisely the position of Admiral Seymour at Alexandria, and it is

practically the position occupied by every British commander to whom is committed the issue of peace or war in the "exercise of his discretion." Need we marvel that while the Monarchy becomes involved in war after war, the Republic settles similar problems in peace, and earns the good will and cordial friendship of the power with which she has to deal?

Let us proceed just a step further, and show the policy of the Democracy upon this subject of intervention or complications in the affairs of other states. The President's message from which I have just quoted refers to a treaty offered by Nicaragua, which proposed to give America the necessary land upon which to construct a canal of its own across the Isthmus—a tempting bait this to a Monarchy with imperial ambitions. But listen to the response of the republican President:

"Maintaining, as I do, the tenets of a line of precedents from Washington's day, which proscribe entangling alliances with foreign states, I do not favor a policy of acquisition of new and distant territory or the incorporation of remote interests with our own.

"The laws of progress are vital and organic, and we must be conscious of that irresistible tide of commercial expansion which, as the concomitant of our active civilization, day by day, is being urged onward by those increasing facilities of production, transportation, and communication to which steam and electricity have given birth; but our duty in the present instructs us to address ourselves mainly to the development of the vast resources of the great area committed to our charge, and to the cultivation of the arts of peace within our own borders, though jealously alert in preventing the American hemisphere from being involved in the political problems and complications of distant governments. Therefore, I am unable to recommend propositions involving paramount privileges of ownership or right outside of our own territory, when coupled with absolute and unlimited engagements to defend the territorial integrity of

the state where such interests lie. While the general project of connecting the two oceans by means of a canal is to be encouraged, I am of opinion that any scheme to that end to be considered with favor should be free from the features alluded to."

Statesmanship in Britain would have required some life-long diplomat to negotiate for the privileges offered, and the seed of many serious questions of the future would have been sown, the abused people of Britain being led to applaud the strong statesman who had promoted British interests and enlarged the bounds of the empire. A little common sense in the Democracy ensures the Republic a continuance of peace. But now and then the seeds of future trouble present themselves in more specious garbs. The Congo Basin attracted attention a few years ago, and here is a paragraph bearing upon that subject, also in the same President's message which I have quoted:

"A conference of delegates of the principal commercial nations was held at Berlin last winter to discuss methods whereby the Congo Basin might be kept open to the world's trade. Delegates attended on behalf of the United States on the understanding that their part should be merely deliberative, without imparting to the results any binding character, so far as the United States were concerned. This reserve was due to the indisposition of this government to share in any disposal by an international congress of jurisdictional questions in remote foreign territories. The results of the conference were embodied in a formal act of the nature of an international convention, which laid down certain obligations purporting to be binding on the signatories, subject to ratification within one year. Notwithstanding the reservation under which the delegates of the United States attended, their signatures were attached to the general act in the same manner as those of the plenipotentiaries of other governments, thus making the United States appear, without reserve or qualification, as signatories to a joint international engagement

imposing on the signers the conservation of the territorial integrity of distant regions where we have no established interests or control.

"This government does not, however, regard its reservation of liberty of action in the premises as at all impaired; and holding that an engagement to share in the obligation of enforcing neutrality in the remote valley of the Congo would be an alliance whose responsibilities we are not in a position to assume, I abstain from asking the sanction of the Senate to that general act."

The President does not even consider it worth while to submit the question to the Senate. It is so manifestly opposed to the traditions of the Democracy, whose business is to mind its own business and teach by example, not by interference. The sanction of the Senate not having been obtained, of course the action of the mistaken delegates is of no effect, and the Republic lets the imperial nations involve themselves in dangerous alliances upon the Congo. We are soon to hear, no doubt, of disputes between these nations upon this very subject. When these arise, the republican method can be once more referred to with satisfaction.

I have mentioned three questions, all occurring in one year, through any one of which future wars might have arisen, had the Republic not known better than the Monarchy how to manage its foreign affairs. Parties may change, but the foreign policy of the Republic never. No, my readers, it is not because America is so happily placed as to be excluded from the necessity of interference, or that she is not bound by guarantees and alliances with other powers, or freed from the necessity to engage in wars as other nations do; but, as the instances just cited abundantly show, her envied position is the natural result of resolute refusal to adopt the measures which must and

do lead inevitably to wars. The Democracy does not escape these terrible catastrophes by luck, but by careful adherence from year to year, and in every emergency, to a sound policy. The American people are satisfied that the worst native government in the world is better for its people than the best government which any foreign power can supply; that governmental interference upon the part of a so-called civilized power, in the affairs of the most barbarous tribe upon earth, is injurious to that tribe, and never under any circumstances whatever can it prove beneficial, either for the undeveloped race or for the intruder. They are further satisfied that, in the end, more speed is made in developing and improving backward races by proving to them through example the advantages of Democratic institutions than is possible through violent interference. The man in America who should preach that the nation should interfere with distant races for their civilization, and for their good, would be voted either a fool or a hypocrite. Such a classification need not be confined to this side of the Atlantic. There was nothing unkind in Mr. Leonard Courtney's policy of allowing the Egyptians "to stew in their own juice." This policy would have been permanently best for them. Mr. Courtney was the true statesman.

We ask careful readers to reflect upon what has been here shown, and consider whether the success achieved in the management of domestic questions is not admirably supplemented by the wonderful results attending the foreign relations of the Democracy. To the people of my native land I say: Do not believe your statesmen when they attempt to excuse their failures and their follies by stating that the Republic escapes similar results because

isolated from other nations while Britain is not. This not true. The "silver streak" should act as an isolat more complete than any the Republic has; for the Repu lic has no such barrier either north or south. It is n further isolation which is required, but a governme isolated from monarchical and aristocratical influenc When this is obtained there no difficulty will be fou in the way of adopting the policy of the Triumpha Democracy, which avoids all entangling alliances, sin the ally of one nation necessarily proclaims himself t enemy of others. Britain will then stand as the Repub stands, "The friend of all nations—the ally of none The lesson which the Democracy teaches the Monarcl is that proper attention to its own affairs, and freedc allowed to other nations to manage theirs in their ov way, is the best and surest means to secure progress political development throughout the world. Thus sai the Democracy. No nation can give to another a good which will compensate for the injury caused interference with the sacred germ of self-government.

CHAPTER XX

THE FEDERAL CONSTELLATION

"As far as I can see, the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man."
—GLADSTONE.

"The Americans have a Supreme Court which gives stability to their institutions for which we look in vain. They have a Senate, wonderful in its strength and efficiency : would that we could have such a second chamber !"—SALISBURY.

"Everybody praises the American Constitution these days."—JOHN MORLEY.

"WE hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Round this doctrine of the Declaration of Independence as its central sun, the constellation of States revolves. The equality of the citizen is decreed by the fundamental law. All acts, all institutions, are based upon this idea. There is not one shred of privilege, hence no classes. The American people are a unit. Difference of position in the state, resulting from birth, would be held to insult the citizen. One and all they stand Brutus-like, and

> "Would brook
> The eternal devil to keep his state
> As easily as a king."

Government of the people, for the people, and by the

people, is their political creed. The vote of an Emerson or a Lincoln weighs no more than that of the poorest negro. The President has not a privilege which is not the birthright of every other citizen. The people are not levelled down, but levelled up by the full dignity of equal citizenship, beyond which no man can go.

The cardinal idea of American government is Home Rule. Every political unit in the United States governs itself, and is subject to the larger units only in such matters as concern their common welfare.

The first voice of the people may not always be the voice of God. Indeed, sometimes it does seem to be very far from it. But their second voice—the result of the sober second thought—comes nearest to that voice, much nearer than the voice of any class, even that of the most highly educated, has ever come in any government under the sun. Hence there is no voice in all America which has the faintest authority when the ballot speaks.

It has often been objected to this republican theory of the state, that under it a dead level of uniformity must exist. On the contrary, where the utmost freedom exists in individual development, there is found the greatest amount of diversity. The informed traveller, who knows life in America, can be relied upon to dispel this delusion and to certify that nowhere in all the world is society more exclusive or more varied than in republican America. Certainly it is far less so in Britain. In monarchical countries birth and rank tend to override personal characteristics; republican society is necessarily founded only upon character and attainment: social classes are founded upon natural and not upon artificial differences. The question asked in America is not, What was your father? but, Who

are *you?* "Natural selection" has freer play. Congenial persons associate with each other, uninfluenced by birth or rank, since neither exists. Nor has wealth of itself nearly so great an influence in society in America as in Britain. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that it should have, because it is much more easily acquired, and, what is much more telling, much more easily lost. The law of acquisition is indeed as free to act in the Monarchy as in the Republic, but the law of dispersion is not. Primogeniture and entail are unknown in the Republic, and the transfer of land is easy. It is an old saw that there are but three generations in America from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves. Under such conditions an aristocracy of wealth is impossible. The "almighty dollar" is just like the restless pig which Paddy could not count, because it would not stand still long enough in one place to be counted. Wealth cannot remain permanently in any class if economic laws are allowed free play.

The Federal constellation is composed of forty-four stars, the States, and six nebulæ, the Territories, which are rapidly crystallizing into form. The galaxy upon the national flag has grown during the century from thirteen to forty-four stars, and "the cry is, Still they come." Every decade new stars are coming into view, and ere long the entire cluster of nebulæ will be added to the Federal constellation. They are to come forth as the new star in Andromeda came in the fulness of time. A new State sweeps into the Federal constellation every now and then like—

> "A star new-born, that drops into its place,
> And which, once circling in its placid round,
> Not all the tumult of the earth can shake."

The question arises, "How is it possible to govern successfully under one head, not this nation, but this great continent of nations, this world within itself?" The answer is, "Through the federal or home rule system alone it is possible." Each of these forty-four States is sovereign within its own borders; has its own constitution; its own parliament, consisting of House and Senate; its own governor, courts and judges, militia, etc., etc., all patterned after that of the general government. All the rights of sovereignty belong to each State, except such powers as it has expressly delegated, in common with sister States, to the central authority, the National Government at Washington.

One provision insures solidity. Should a dispute arise between a State and the central government as to what powers are or are not delegated, the decision of the Supreme Court of the nation is final and binding upon all. The theory is that all its internal affairs are matters for each State to deal with and determine; all external affairs are for the nation: all local matters are for the States, all general matters for the nation. The division is easily made and maintained. The Constitution defines it in a few clauses by stating what the National Government has charge of. Any powers not expressly delegated to the nation remain in the States, to be exercised in any manner they choose.

The Supreme Court of the nation stands ready to inform States or nation of their respective powers. With the exception of the claim made in the interest of the slave-power, that a State had a right to secede from the Union, no serious question between State and nation has arisen. It is difficult to see how any can arise, since

that has been definitely decided in the negative. The integrity of the nation having been assured, all other questions must be of trifling import and readily adjustable by the Supreme Court, which has proclaimed the nation to be "an indestructible union of indestructible States."

The differentiations shown in the laws of the various States, which have resulted from the perfect freedom of home rule accorded them in their internal affairs, prove that the political institutions best suited to each community are thereby insured, since they must necessarily be healthful growths of each different body politic. They are genuine out-births of the people themselves, and therefore certain to receive their cordial and unwavering support. The number and extent of these differences in laws are surprising. The customs and habits of cold, cultured, old Massachusetts find expression in laws not best adapted for tropical, agricultural, new Texas, just as the laws of England would be found less desirable for Scotland or Ireland than those which have been evolved by these communities, and which would be still more freely evolved by home rule, under their slightly different environments.

These stars, the American States, revolve each upon its own axis, within its own orbit; each according to its own laws; some faster, some slower; one at one angle and one at another; but around the central sun at Washington they tread the great national orbit under equal conditions, and constitute parts of one great constellation. Here, then, we have the perfection of federal or home rule in its fullest and greatest development. The success of the American Union proves that the freest self-government

of the parts produces the strongest government of the whole.

Let us proceed to note, in the order of their importance, the various branches of the National Government. This is clearly divided into three parts, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. We begin, of course, with the

SUPREME COURT OF THE NATION—THE HEAD OF THE JUDICIAL BRANCH.

Beyond and before, and higher than House, or Senate, or President, or all combined, stands this final arbiter, sole umpire, judge of itself. More than once Lord Salisbury has said that he envied his transatlantic brethren their Supreme Court. Speaking at Edinburgh on November 23, 1882, he said: "I confess I do not often envy the United States, but there is one feature in their institutions which appears to me the subject of the greatest envy—their magnificent institution of a Supreme Court. In the United States, if Parliament passes any measure inconsistent with the Constitution of the country, there exists a court which will negative it at once, and that gives a stability to the institutions of the country which, under the system of vague and mysterious promises here, we look for in vain." He is right, and as he becomes more conversant with the results of political institutions founded upon the equality of the citizen, as I trust he may do, he will, in my opinion, find reason to envy many other of these more highly developed and in reality deeply conservative institutions, as much as that which now excites his admiration. The powers of the Supreme Court seem at first sight almost too vast to intrust to any small body

of men; but it is to be noted that these powers are limited by the fact that it can neither make nor execute laws, nor originate anything. It can only interpret the laws. It only decides disputes, should such be properly brought before it, and its judgments are in all cases confined rigorously to the points submitted. It cannot interfere beforehand with any act of the government, nor with any act of the President, but can decide only whether such acts or orders are or are not constitutional, when the question is raised, and the reasons for such decision must be publicly stated. Thus limited, its decision is final. Unless and until decided to be unconstitutional, all acts of Congress or of the President are valid.

As may be inferred, the mere knowledge on the part of State legislative bodies that their acts are subject to the decision of the Supreme Court keeps them strictly within constitutional bounds. There is no use, even were there the disposition, to enact any law which is not reasonably certain to be sustained. Therefore the regulative power of the court upon great questions remains practically in abeyance. The power is there, which is all that is required. The questions bearing upon State relations which it is called upon to decide are few, and generally of minor importance. As, however, all causes which involve considerable sums between citizens of different States can be appealed to this court, it is kept busily engaged upon matters of large pecuniary interest but of no political consequence.

The court consists of nine judges, who hold office during life, subject, however, to impeachment by Congress for misbehavior, or removal for inability to serve. Vacancies are filled by nominations made by the President to the

Senate for confirmation, no appointment being complete until confirmed by the Senate. The salary of the judges is $10,000 (£2,000) per annum, and the Chief Justice receives $500 (£100) more. They can retire at seventy years of age upon full pay during life. What pittances! I hear my monarchical friends exclaim. Perhaps so; but does any court in the world command greater respect than this Supreme Court? Are abler, purer lawyers, men clearer in their great office, to be found elsewhere? Certainly not. Even Lord Salisbury regrets that there is not such a tribunal in Britain. When I see the quiet dignity of the Supreme Court judges in Washington, their plain living, free from vulgar ostentation, their modest but refined homes, and think how far beyond pecuniary considerations their aspirations are, how foreign to their elevated natures the coarser phases of life in modern society, I cannot but conclude that it would be most unfortunate if the emoluments of their position should ever be made so great as in themselves to constitute a temptation, as they are in Britain. The American judge in the Supreme Court has no compeer. The pomp and parade which surround the entrance of a judge in Britain, the sordid pecuniary prize which he has secured by the appointment, his gilt coach, and all the tinsel of feudalistic times which is allowed still to survive under the idea that it adds to his dignity, but which borders upon the ridiculous in these days of general refinement—all this tinsel would seem most unfitting to the republican judge, detracting from, not adding to, his own inherent dignity and that of his great position.

The Supreme Court sits in Washington; but each of the nine judges visits for a part of the year one of the

nine circuits into which the country is divided, and assists the circuit judges. The circuits are again divided into districts, each of which has its own court and judge. The judges for these courts are nominated by the President and approved by the Senate, and hold office during life or good behavior. Any citizen has the right of appeal to these courts in any case involving the citizens or corporations of another State. The Supreme Court, the Circuit Courts, the District Courts, and the Court of Claims form the national judiciary.

We come next to the

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

This consists of two Houses, a House of Representatives and a Senate, which meet at Washington once a year upon a fixed date early in December, unless called together at an earlier period by proclamation of the President. The House is composed of three hundred and fifty-six Representatives. Every State sends members in proportion to its population as shown by each decadal census. The number of members is not regularly increased; the number of inhabitants to each Representative is increased. Thus, in 1872 every one hundred and thirty-eight thousand inhabitants returned a member; in 1882 it required one hundred and fifty-four thousand; in 1891, the number of Representatives was set at three hundred and fifty-six—one hundred and seventy-three thousand nine hundred to each member—and an apportionment was made in accordance with this number. After a census is taken, the population is divided by an adopted number of members, the quota required to

return a member being thus ascertained. Each State is then informed of the number due it, and arranges its electoral districts accordingly. Thus every ten years electoral power is fairly, because equally, adjusted to the satisfaction of all. By so simple an automatic device the question of representation is removed from politics, and settled forever upon the rock of fair and equal representation. It can never be settled in a free state until equal electoral districts are reached. Educated man demands equality, nor can he rest until he has obtained it. This secured, he becomes quiet and contented. Representatives hold office for two years, their term expiring with each Congress on the third of March every second year. As members are eligible for reëlection, and as the practice is to return men of ability from term to term, the new House is always under the guidance of experienced legislators. A member need not be a resident of the district which returns him, but the practice is to select such as are. Members are paid $5,000 (£1,000) per annum and travelling expenses.

The power of the purse is as tenaciously held by the House in Washington as in London; all money bills originate in it by express provision of the Constitution. Alike in this, the two Houses present an entirely different appearance; on entering the House at Washington the visitor is struck by the contrast. Instead of the uncomfortable benches at Westminster and the lack of all facilities for reading or writing, not to mention comfort, the newer House presents its members all sitting in easy-chairs, at separate desks; they are busily at work with their correspondence, or consulting books of reference. Pages answer their call. They attend to their legislative

duties during the day while fresh. When a division is called, instead of wasting twenty minutes, and requiring every member to get up and walk past tellers, the business is generally done in a few minutes without disturbance; those voting in the affirmative on the question at issue stand up in their places and are counted by the Speaker. They then resume their seats, and the negative vote is taken in the same way. Should the count be questioned, or the vote be especially important, the roll is called alphabetically by the clerk, and each member answers "Aye" or "No" as his name is reached. This method, however, is rarely necessary. Business is not often obstructed in the House. No member is permitted to speak more than once on any question, nor can he speak longer than one hour. Yet neither party complains that this rule has worked any injustice; no party seeks to change it. It has not prevented full discussion, and it has enabled the House to transact business promptly.

Next in order follows that one American institution which has received the unqualified approval of every man who has given an opinion upon the subject. I cannot imagine what a man could say except in praise of the

UNITED STATES SENATE.

Proud, indeed, may the man be who can style himself "Senator." To this august body each of the States sends two members, six years being the term of office. These are elected by the legislatures of the States, and hence reflect the popular desire. Senators are, of course, the adherents of one or other political party, as it obtains sway in the various States. As the terms of service are so

arranged that only one-third of the Senators retire every two years, unless reëlected, the tendency is for the Senate to respond somewhat less promptly than the Lower House to change of public opinion.

The Senate, unlike the House of Lords, has large powers; all laws must be passed by it as well as by the House. No treaty with a foreign power is valid without its approval by a two-thirds vote; all ambassadors and agents to foreign powers must be approved by it. Much has been said about the patronage of the President; but he cannot appoint a postmaster unless the nominee is passed upon and confirmed by this august tribunal. It has been said by more than one political writer that the American Senate is the ideal second chamber of the world. Some assert that it is the only second chamber which possesses real power and is permanently fixed in the hearts of the masses. It is regarded as a great promotion to be elevated from the House to the Senate, and it is none the less certain that the entire nation regards the Senate with pride and affection. All officials in America being paid, the salary of a Senator is the same as that of a Representative, $5,000 (£1,000) per year and travelling expenses.

Lord Salisbury admires this American institution as well as the Supreme Court, for his own second chamber gives unmistakable evidence of decay; and in good time he may even come to see that an elected President is preferable to an hereditary ruler. We cannot despair of his reaching finally to the full measure of the political equality of the citizen, since he begins so well admiring the two chief American institutions, the Supreme Court and the Senate.

He said in a recent speech:

"The Americans, as you know, have a Senate. I wish we could institute it in this country. Marvellous in efficiency and strength!"

Truly this former Saturday Reviewer is a more promising pupil than Mr. Gladstone himself, and almost equal to Lord Rosebery. Nothing easier, my lord, than to get a copy of the American Senate. The secret of its marvellous strength and efficiency is an open one. You know it well. The Senate springs from and rests upon the suffrages of the people. There is not a trace of hereditary poison in its veins to steal away its power. In an elective assembly such as this, a man of real power like Lord Salisbury would be twice the man he is when leading a set of hereditary accidents.

Having already obtained Lord Salisbury's indorsement of the Supreme Court and the Senate, I am encouraged to go a step further and commend for his approval the institution he should next indorse, a Parliament of duly paid members elected by equal electoral districts for a fixed term of two years. Until this is secured, the government of Britain must remain exposed to every passing gust of popular emotion, and hence exercise no steadying effect in periods of excitement. A British ministry does not govern, but bows to the clamor it should withstand. And upon my British readers let me once more impress the truth that in all the elements of true conservatism, in all that goes to make up a strong government, a power competent to maintain justice and to defeat attacks upon the rights or property of others, and, when necessary, to keep the ship of state with its head against the wildest hurricane, the American system, as I must compliment

Lord Salisbury upon being one of the first European statesmen to discover, is infinitely beyond the monarchical. The man who knows both well, and has property in both lands, may be trusted to tell his inquirers that his republican title gives him much the less uneasiness. This is further demonstrated by the highest place being accorded by the world to the American national debt.

WAR AND TREATY MAKING POWER.

In two vital respects the powers of the executives of the old and new English lands differ. First, no treaty with a foreign power is binding until ratified by the Senate. Indeed, as we have seen, no minister can be appointed to a foreign power until approved by this chamber. This vote of the Senate has several times kept the administration from entering into injudicious arrangements. Even General Grant and his cabinet committed themselves to the acquisition of San Domingo. A recent administration was led into a very questionable treaty with Spain. The temptation for a few men, and especially for one man, to characterize his administration by some brilliant stroke calculated to dazzle the populace at the moment, or to appeal to the national vanity, is a source of real danger in all popular governments. Not what is permanently valuable, but what is presently telling, is apt to be considered. Against this danger, for which the monarchical system has no provision whatever, the republican opposes the cool, deliberate decision of an impersonal judge, the Senate. No man's "glory" is thought of by the Senate. What is for the lasting good of the nation is thought of—not what will bring tempo-

rary popularity to a cabinet or save a ministry. It must surely be a prejudiced mind which does not feel that the advantage is here upon the side of the younger land.

The second vital difference is even of deeper import than that just recited. In the Republic war can be declared only by the two Houses of Congress, with the approval of the President. Before the sword can be drawn, both branches of the legislature must be wrought up to the pitch of this extreme and momentous act. The House, the Senate, and the Executive in the person of the President, must consider, discuss, and decide the question under surroundings of the deepest solemnity, and with the nation—the world—anxiously looking on. Every representative of the people, and every Senator, may speak in his place and record his vote for or against. Public attention is thus fixed and concentrated upon the crisis, and public discussion enlightens the people. Time, precious time, which ever cools the passions of men and works for peace, is thus gained, and every official, every member of the legislature, publicly assumes the fearful responsibility of engaging in the slaughter of his fellowmen. If ever war be proclaimed by the Republic, which God forbid, since all her paths are peace, it will not be the act of one branch or another of the government, but the solemn public act of all, legislative and executive. Contrast this with monarchical countries, in which a few excited partisans, sometimes only one or two real actors, who sit in a close cabinet chamber, commit the people to criminal war—sometimes to prolong their own tenure of office, or to promote some party end.

American readers may not be aware of the fact, that while in Britain an act of Parliament is necessary before

works for a supply of water or a mile of railway can be constructed, six or seven men can plunge the nation into war, or, what is perhaps equally disastrous, commit it to entangling alliances without consulting Parliament at all. This is the most pernicious, palpable effect flowing from the monarchical theory, for these men do this in "the king's name," who is in theory still a real monarch, although in reality only a convenient puppet to be used by the cabinet at pleasure to suit their own ends. Next to the sapping of the roots of true manhood in the masses, by decreeing their inferiority to other men at birth, this is the most potent evil which exists to-day in the British Constitution, and it is chargeable solely to the monarchical system. It does not rank with the first evil, however, being mainly material, while the other is of the spirit, injury to which is the gravest misfortune which can befall a nation. But this vital truth not one of the so-called "practical" statesmen of Britain sees or will consider, or, perhaps, what is nearer the truth, will venture to acknowledge. Not one of them, apparently, has a soul above cheap corn, which is worshipped as the highest good. Indignities to the spirit of the masses, by which manhood is impaired, may, they seem to argue, safely pass unnoticed, so long as their bodies are fed. And yet better, far better, for a nation that its food for the body should be dear, and equal citizenship be the birthright of the soul. "We have many evils to remedy in our political system a million times greater than the Monarchy," once said a prominent statesman and possible prime minister. His eyes blinded with the dust of conflict and his mind so absorbed with trifling party results, he could neither think nor see an inch

before his face, much less study cause and effect. Could he do so, surely he would realize the truth that in the royal family, as in a nest, lies the origin of all the political evils which afflict his native land and which he deplores; all that this able, earnest, patriotic man is laboring to remove is only the legitimate offspring of this one royal family institution, and is never to be met with except where a royal family exists to create it. Resolve that the head of the state shall be elected at intervals, and thus found government upon the true idea—the political equality of the citizen—and all the political wrongs of the few against the many fall as if by magic. Men in public life in Britain should be ashamed to waste their energies against the House of Lords, Church and State, primogeniture and entail, and all the other branches of the monstrous system; they should strike boldly at hereditary privilege, the root of the upas-tree from which spring all these wrongs.

Surely the Democracies of Europe have no question to consider more vitally important than the war power. How many useless wars in the past would have been avoided, had the republican method prevailed! How many in the future would be prevented by its prompt adoption! The masses are ever more pacific than their rulers, ever more kindly disposed to those of their own class in other nations, than the rulers are to theirs. The people do not share the jealousies of their rulers. If the war power lay in the hands of the representatives of the people in Europe, as it does in America, there would certainly be fewer wars.

The position of the Republic upon this question of war is still further advanced by the fact that both political

parties, by special clauses in their declaration of principles, have pronounced in favor of peaceful arbitration for the settlement of international differences. Thus, before America can have recourse to arms, no matter what party be in power, her adversary must first be offered arbitration and decline it. We envy not the nation which shocks the moral sense of mankind by refusing this olive branch of peace when presented.

Of all the desirable political changes which it seems possible for this generation to effect, I consider it by far the most important for the welfare of the race, that every civilized nation should be pledged, as the Republic is, to offer peaceful arbitration to its opponent before the senseless, inhuman work of human slaughter begins; and for all the just and good measures by which the Republic has won my love, next to that by which she has made me her own citizen, and hence the peer of any man, kaiser or king, thus effacing from my brow the insult inflicted upon me by my native land at birth, which deemed me unworthy the privileges accorded to others—next to that, for which I will fight for her, if need be die for her, and must adore her forever—I thank the Republic for her position in regard to international murder, which still passes by the name of war.

THE EXECUTIVE POWER—THE PRESIDENT.

The executive power is lodged in a President, who for four years, the term of his office, is the most powerful ruler in the world. He is not only first civil magistrate, but he is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of all the military forces of the nation, including the

militia of the States whenever called upon by him. More soldiers would respond to his call than to that of any other ruler in the world. The number of men who in case of war might be enrolled in the militia approaches eight millions, almost every able man of whom would consider it his duty to shoulder his musket and march at the word of his commander-in-chief, the President. What are French, or German, or Russian hosts compared to this of the Democracy! Even man for man, as soldiers, they would not compare with the educated Republican. But this great army costs the State but little; it is always engaged in the pursuits of peace, and only to be called upon should an emergency arise. The President's control over the forces is not merely nominal; it is real. When the most popular general in the army, during the Civil War, had fought his way to victory and had the enemy at his feet, it was feared that unsatisfactory terms of surrender might be made. The following telegram was therefore sent, which, though bearing the signature of the Secretary of War, was written without blot or erasure by President Lincoln himself:

"WASHINGTON, *March* 3, 1865, 12 P.M.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT:

"The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some other minor and purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meanwhile you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"*Secretary of War.*"

The General, of course, obeyed. Only a few days later General Sherman, just fresh from his "March to the Sea," entered into a convention with General Johnston which had political bearings. A telegram was promptly sent to General Grant, directing him to instruct General Sherman to cancel the agreement, and this was done. Suppose, if any one can suppose so lamentable an abdication of duty, that in a weak moment the American government had sent a Gordon to arrange terms of peace, and that he disobeyed his instructions or had presumed to declare war upon his own account! In the President's opinion a simple order like the foregoing would scarcely have met the case. He would have had the insubordinate arrested, court-martialled, cashiered, and probably shot—no, not shot, but consigned for life to some lunatic asylum. President Lincoln could have court-martialled General Grant, or General Grant when President could have court-martialled General Sherman, or either President dismissed either general when at the height of that general's power, or arrested him, as Richelieu did his conspiring general, "at the head of his legions," without raising a murmur of popular dissent. Indeed, in the midst of the Civil War, General McClellan, at that time the most popular officer in the army, was deposed from command of the Army of the Potomac, and neither the army nor the people rebelled. At the next Presidential election, Lincoln was reëlected over this same General McClellan. The people enthusiastically approved, as indeed the British will approve, if they ever see it, a display of masterful power over all others by their elected Chief of the State.

No soldier has ever dreamed of questioning the su-

preme authority of the President, nor has the nation ever shown the slightest jealousy of its exercise. Why should it, since the President is not above its reach, but is its own duly appointed agent for a specified term? When that expires he transfers his powers to his successor and seeks again the ranks of private citizenship. One returns to Congress as the representative of his district, another resumes the practice of law, a third becomes a farmer. Neither sinecure, place, nor pension is bestowed upon an ex-President. He has been supremely honored by his fellow-citizens. He has in turn done his duty.

The salary of the President is now $50,000 per annum (£10,000). An official residence is provided for him at Washington. At stated times for some hours each week the President receives such respectably dressed and well-ordered people as choose to call upon him. Being the servant of the people in a country where all citizens are equal, the humblest has the same right as the most distinguished to call upon him and shake his hand, he being as much the servant of the one as of the other. By many such significant customs the powerful President is reminded of what it would indeed be impossible for any one in the land to forget, that the sovereignty of the Republic resides not in the servants of the state but in the citizens, in every one of whom rests an equal share of it. The feelings and desires of the citizen it therefore behooves all officials to consider.

The President selects of his own will and without interference the members of his Cabinet, as the British prime minister does. They are removable by him at pleasure. The President being his own prime minister, the Cabinet officers are of equal rank. One difference

between the two countries in regard to the Cabinet is that, while the British Cabinet sit in one or the other house and communicate orally with it, in America the members of the Cabinet do not appear in person before the legislature, but report to it in writing. This is, however, simply a matter of convenience; there is nothing but custom to prevent them from appearing and making their statements in person, although they could not take any part in the proceedings of the legislature. At first the President appeared and addressed Congress at the beginning of each session, but the plan of placing before it a written message as often as deemed necessary has been preferred. The people would not favor a change to the British practice, for the separation of the executive and legislative departments is held to be of much importance. A member of either house can at any time call upon the President for information upon any question connected with public affairs, but as the call has to meet the approval of the Senate or House, the government is free from the petty annoyances which it is in the power of any injudicious member to inflict under the British system of nightly questioning. The President, in like manner, has free access to Congress, and, indeed, it is his duty to report to it from time to time upon all matters of which, in his opinion, Congress should be advised. He is also invited to recommend measures for its acceptance.

The President represents the nation in its relations with foreign countries, and receives all ambassadors. It is he alone who has the power to pardon offences against the laws of the United States. He also has a veto power over the acts of Congress, which, however, is invalid should the measure vetoed be passed again by a two-

thirds vote in both houses. He is eligible for reëlection, and several Presidents have been elected for two terms, or eight years in all, as Washington was; but he having declined reëlection for a third term, lest the office should seem too permanent, it has become the custom not to elect beyond two terms.

The executive work of the government is transacted by means of several great departments, located in Washington, but with branches and agents scattered far and wide over the land. The members of the President's Cabinet act as heads of these departments, besides serving as advisers of the President. These departments are as follows:

Department of State,
Treasury Department,
War Department,
Navy Department,
Post-office Department,
Department of the Interior,
Department of Justice,
Department of Agriculture.

The work carried on by these departments is of magnitude commensurate with the extent and resources of the country, and is of the most varied character. This is especially the case with the departments of the Treasury, Interior, and Agriculture, which contain numerous bureaus devoted to public works, informations, and surveys.

The Americans have indeed shown wonderful sagacity in the selection of their Presidents. Considered as a body, it would be impossible to equal them in char-

acter, ability, education, or manners, by any body of men ever born, appointed, or elected to any other station. They furnish a striking contrast to the occupants or heirs of thrones in every particular. When Britain was disgraced by its George III., the Republic had Washington; and until Queen Victoria ascended the throne the comparison had certainly always been in favor of the Republic.

It is the fashion in all things to praise the past, and claim that "there were giants in those days," but it is nevertheless true that the Presidents of the Republic in our own times have been worthy successors even to Washington, Adams, and Jefferson of the past. Grant has a firm place in history among men possessed of great ability. Garfield's career from a poor school-teacher to the Presidency is exceedingly difficult to parallel; while the political genius of Lincoln has never been surpassed. The two latest holders of the great office, Cleveland and Harrison, have well maintained the high standard of their predecessors. It is always well to remember that there are giants in our own day, too.

The election of the President and Vice-President is not by a direct vote of the people, but by a vote of the States in an electoral assembly in which each State has as many votes as it has Senators and Representatives in Congress; that is, in proportion to its population. It has been claimed as an advantage of the Monarchy, that, having a permanent head of the state, the excitement and expense of an election every four years for the head of the state is avoided. But, it may be answered, the hereditary head of Britain is not a political head at all. An automaton would do just as well, for it could certainly be used as a

model to set the fashions, and probably could be made to lay foundation-stones or open fancy bazaars with little less careful coaching and attention than it is generally necessary to bestow upon the live figure-head; besides, it would be much less expensive. The real ruler of Britain is elected just as often as a President of the Republic is, for it is a curious fact that Parliaments last an average of four years, which is the Presidential term. It is a fiction therefore that the Monarchy has any advantage over the Republic in this respect, for they are situated precisely alike; they each elect a ruler every four years. The excitement and the expense of a general election is far greater in the Monarchy than in the Republic, for the former consumes three weeks, the latter only one day. Besides this, the Republic elects all Members of Congress and all State officials and county officials generally at the one election. That for Members of Parliament is a special election estimated to cost ten millions of dollars. So that in one sense the election of the President costs only a trifle, as State elections have to be held whether a President is to be elected or not, and voting for the Presidential electoral ticket when voting for Representatives and State officers involves no additional expense beyond the trifling cost of the ballots. Of course, more money is spent in Presidential years, but this is the personal contribution of zealous partisans and not a charge upon the State. It will surprise Britons to know that no sums comparable to what they spend on political contests are ever spent by the Americans. The total sum expended by the national committees of all the parties, even in the exciting Presidential contest of 1888, did not exceed $600,000 (£120,000), while at the last election it

was understood that much less was collected by the national committees.

The republican election, moreover, is conducted with far less riot and disturbance than unfortunately characterize the appeal to the electorate in older England. An American is surprised and shocked at the rowdyism often shown at public meetings in Britain. He is accustomed to have both sides granted a respectful hearing. I have never seen any public meeting in America broken up by gangs of the opposite side, nor a public man denied a hearing. In this respect the example of the younger political community might well be followed by the elder. When the people of Britain, however, obtain their full political rights, there will be less exciting questions to discuss than those which now press for solution, and political gatherings will then be more peaceably conducted. It must not be forgotten that when a vital issue like slavery was under discussion in America, the right of free speech was often violently assailed, as it still is in Britain.

When the surroundings of the President and the royal ruler are contrasted, republican simplicity stands out in strong relief. The President walks about in Washington as an ordinary citizen, wholly unattended, and travels, as a rule, upon ordinary trains, although in a special car. Although, go where he may, he will be met with quiet evidences of universal and sincere deference as President, there will be no parade, except when performing a public function. The equipages of the President in Washington have frequently been so common as not to rank with those of the wealthy residents, and never in any instance have they been the richest or best. All the Presidents have been poor men. I have known three of them so

well as to state, of my own knowledge, that they left office without means enough upon which to live respectably. Of every American President it may be said as it was said of Pitt: "Dispensing for years the favors of the state, he lived without ostentation and died poor." They have all left office poor and pure.

One turns from the dignified, simple life of the republican ruler to that of the nominal heads of Europe, feeling that there he meets a coarser and less finely developed civilization. The parade and vulgar ostentation which surrounds at every turn the nominal rulers of the older lands is indeed in striking contrast. The cost to the state of the Executive is as ten thousand to six hundred thousand pounds, and in some cases much more. The entire family, his "sisters and his cousins and his aunts," are supported, and bands of retainers who are supposed to dignify the throne. The state processions strike an American as grotesque masquerades.

We have now passed in review the three branches of government, judicial, legislative, and executive, for which the Constitution provides. The ease with which this instrument has not only done the work over the country for which it was originally designed, but with which it has without repeated change quietly enveloped in its operation a combination of forty-four different political communities, occupying an area of three million square miles, and comprising most of the English-speaking race—this is not to be spoken of without wonder. With one exception—the dispute as to the right of a State to withdraw from the Union—a serious difficulty has never arisen. It seems as if there could be no limit to its powers of absorption. The whole world could to-day come into the

American Union as equal States, and develop peacefully, each after its own fashion, no man being less a Briton, a Frenchman, a German, a Russian, or a Chinaman, but all becoming possessed of a new title, proudest of all, "citizen of the world." This wonderful Constitution stipulates for a republican form of government. All the Democracy has to do is to discard hereditary rulers as useless, dangerous, and therefore to be abolished. Sure is it that they have deluged the world with wars, put man against his fellow, and sought no end but their own aggrandizement. Not less sure, that they must ever stand in the way of the brotherhood of the race which it is the mission of Democracy to foster.

How easily within our grasp, fellow-citizens of the world, seems the day when

"The drum shall beat no longer, and the battle flags be furled,
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

We may not look, however, for quite so wide and complete a Union in our day; but as far as the continents of the world are concerned there is no insuperable obstacle to their union each into one nation upon the federal system. The American continent is evidently destined to be so ruled. The European continent is slowly consolidating, for there are but five great powers to-day instead of the hundreds of small states which existed before the Napoleonic era. A league of peace to which each continent will send delegates to decide international differences is not quite so far in the future as may at first sight appear. This would remove from the world its greatest stain—war between man and man.

To all communities which are tending toward further

consolidations and to every man who can truthfully exclaim,

"My benison with those
Who would make good of ill and friends of foes,"

we commend a close study of that great cementing bond which Mr. Gladstone has pronounced "the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man"—the profoundly conservative and yet radically republican American Constitution.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GOVERNMENT'S NON-POLITICAL WORK

"Politically and socially the United States are a community living in a natural condition and conscious of doing so. And being in this healthy case and having this healthy consciousness, the community there uses its understanding with the soundness of health; it in general sees its political and social concerns straight, and sees them clear."—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

ONE of Matthew Arnold's clear-thinking Yankees has said, with epigrammatic brevity, that whenever three Americans get together they organize: one becomes secretary, a second treasurer, and the other a standing committee of one to watch the executive. And, surely, this is more than a saying. A people trained to govern itself, even in the most minute affairs of local life, must of necessity develop a great capacity for organization and administration. Thus we find in America that groups of men with allied interests invariably have an organization to watch over the common weal. But for organization of the most complete and comprehensive character, it is needful to see what the Federal Government is doing at Washington. A visit to the numerous departments and bureaus there is like a journey with "Alice in Wonderland." There in offices, some dingy, some magnificent, one may see, lying on tables or on shelves, the charts which indicate in every particular the nation's life and health, its pulse-beats and respiration, its changing ap-

petite and desires. Nay, the whole world, the universe itself, is told to "put out its wrist," that the experts may know how it is doing. The present condition of crops in California or in Egypt; the degree of cloudiness in Dakota or Maine; the number and condition of hogs in market at Kansas City, or in transport to Chicago; the appearance of grasshoppers in Georgia; the wheat in store at Duluth or New York; the number of bales of cotton at Bombay or Mobile; the present position in mid-Atlantic of a water-logged wreck, or a buoy adrift; a drought in Arkansas; the southward flight of cranes in Dakota; the change made yesterday in the revolving light in the bay of Nagasaki, Japan; the coal at present available for ships at St. Helena; the relative cloudiness of the planet Mars—these and a thousand and one other matters, as diverse as can be imagined, are noted, docketed, and labelled, every change being recorded almost as soon as it takes place.

The United States Government is not exclusively a political machine, but creates and supervises an enormous amount of work of a scientific character. With these departments politics has nothing whatever to do. Trained experts, devoted to the service, live and die, their tenure of office determined by their ability and conduct. This service is from top to bottom pure. Certain it is that no government spends so much or so wisely in these great and purely scientific works as the Republic. Last year no less than six millions of dollars were appropriated for this purpose.

Let us take first the Department of Agriculture, the youngest of all. This Department has in its service about ten thousand correspondents, dispersed over the continent,

and a few abroad. The service is mainly voluntary. From their reports a monthly record is compiled, which is exhibited in chambers of commerce and published in newspapers, giving the area and condition of crops throughout the world; cost of transportation to home and foreign markets; prices prevailing on farms and in principal cities; stocks on hand; requirements of consumption; sources of supply, etc. Thus the American farmer or merchant can always ascertain the amount of acreage in particular crops; the condition of the crops as regards growth, maturity, and probable yield; the number and local value of horses, cows, sheep, oxen, or other cattle; the prices of labor in different localities; or any other data bearing on his work. Further, seeds are distributed and planted all over the vast continent, and the results of differing soils and conditions carefully noted, and deductions drawn as to the appropriate environment. Then the habits and life-history of insects and birds injurious to vegetation, and the best means of destroying them, are subjects occupying the attention of a separate division of the Department. In this work, specialists are busy in the field and laboratory; and the results of their labors, printed in special reports, are dispersed by the numerous local agricultural societies and institutions with which the Department is in intimate communion. In its own garden the Department cultivates new varieties of fruits and plants, for dissemination throughout the country. In this garden, Chinese sorghum or sugar-cane was first grown in America, and the Chinese yam was introduced by the same means. The tea-plant is another example, and the domestic product is largely consumed by the families who raise it. A Western orange planter writes to the Department:

"The Bahia orange sent to California ten years ago is conceded to be the best variety produced in this State. It is the largest size and finest flavor, and sells higher than any other kind. It is worth to California all that the Department of Agriculture has ever cost the country."

Amongst other work of the Department may be named the analyses of grains and fruits to determine their nutritive value, and analyses of soils and fertilizers; the microscopical study of plant diseases, especially fungi; the diffusion of knowledge concerning the uses of forest-trees in relation to agriculture; the investigation of specific diseases amongst cattle, and efforts to prevent or cure. In brief, everything that relates directly or even remotely to farming comes within the scope of the Agricultural Department. So complete is its supervision, that one examining its work is impelled to the belief that the American farmer has only to follow his instructions, and the government department will run his farm and see that it pays.

The United States Weather Bureau is another great organization, which, by its electric veins spread over a continent, receives crude material, assimilates it, and sends it back pulsating in a rich, life-giving stream. From Cape Breton Island to southern Oregon, and from San Diego, California, to Havana, an area three thousand miles long by two thousand miles wide, embracing one hundred and fifty intermediate stations, messages are simultaneously flashed over the wires to Washington twice a day, reporting all atmospheric phenomena. An hour afterward the little room of the assistant signal officer in Washington holds in its dingy precincts a chart which indicates barometric pressure, direction and velocity of the wind,

temperature, dew-point, rainfall, and cloud areas of every part of the six million square miles covered by its network of telegraphs. A stranger dropping in at midnight of January 9, 1886, would have been told that local snows were falling in the lake regions; that the temperature had risen in the Gulf States; and that the rivers had risen a foot at Cincinnati, Cairo, and Memphis, and fallen five feet at Chattanooga; that cautionary off-shore signals were exhibited from Wilmington to New York, and cautionary signals from New Haven to Eastport. He would probably have been shown the track of the storm which brought to Washington the lowest barometric reading ever seen there; and the chart being prepared under his eyes would show him the same storm disappearing into Labrador. A few hours later the finished chart, reproduced by telegraph, would be in the office of every important newspaper, every post-office, thousands of railway stations and chambers of commerce throughout the land from San Francisco to Boston, and from Minneapolis to Key West in the Gulf Stream. The people of New England would know on receiving the morning paper that for the next thirty-two hours they were to have cold, fair weather, with a rising barometer; while those of Los Angeles, in lower California, and Jacksonville, Florida, would be gladdened to know that the cold wave was passing away. In Minnesota railway officials would learn by the same report published in their newspapers, or hanging in the ticket-office, that there would be no immediate need of snow-ploughs, although traffic would be slightly impeded by local snows. The skipper who contemplated leaving New York and sailing coastwise would hesitate on reading, at the breakfast table, that cautionary signals

were displayed; and influenced by the report of some army surgeon or amateur meteorologist away in Dakota, he might possibly decide to spend another day at home. All sorts and conditions of men are affected by this chart. One postpones a journey; another, calculating on the arrival of grain in Eastern cities, sells before the market falls; emigrants decide to go West by the Southern Pacific route; physicians relax their restraints as the improving weather admits the invalid to the fresh air.

Considering the haste with which the weather charts and predictions are prepared, it is surprising how few errors are made. Eighty-three per cent. of all the indications made last year for the Atlantic coast were justified; while on the Pacific the verifications averaged eighty-seven per cent. Of two thousand eight hundred and sixty-four cautionary signals displayed at ports, two thousand three hundred and one, or eighty per cent., were justified. Cold-wave signals were justified in about the same proportion, eight hundred and fifteen out of nine hundred and forty-six having been verified.

The Weather Bureau engages in much special work. It furnishes the *Farmer's Bulletin* with meteorological information that is of special interest to the agriculturist. This is an official publication, and the government has taken every available means to put it into the hands of the class for which it is intended. The rise and fall of rivers are watched, and timely warning given by telegraph of coming floods. The people of the Western plains receive similar warning of the approach of local storms, and the agriculturists, ranchmen, and others generally have twelve hours to prepare for the coming "Norther." The bureau has also undertaken the task of

announcing the coming of locusts, grasshoppers, and other insect scourges. Frost-warnings for the benefit of the sugar industries of Louisiana and the orange growers of Florida have of late years made the service popular in the South. The bureau has a very complete local service in the cotton belt which supplies information daily as to temperature and rainfall in every part of the district. Then once a month is published a review of meteorological observations made in every part of the world, including Siberia, Greenland, Iceland, Borneo, Turkestan, Japan, China, and some places whose names are suggestive only of desolation and savagery.

An important extension of the Weather Bureau has been made to the sea-coast. Stations are placed at intervals along the coast, and connected by wire with each other, and with Washington. Here storm flags and danger warnings are made visible to vessels moving off the coast. A ship sailing from the equator to New York, as she passes Cape Henlopen may inquire by signals whether any hurricane is impending; and if so, whether she has time to reach Sandy Hook, or must take shelter behind the Delaware breakwater. Or a vessel bound south from New York may inquire at the capes of the Delaware whether any storm is likely to strike her before she can make Cape Hatteras, and receive full answer by telegraph from the chief signal officer at Washington without interrupting his voyage. The chief signal officer very properly thinks this division of his work of superlative importance. He says: "The time is not far distant when the possession of a coast not covered by sea-coast storm-signal and Signal Service stations, watching as sentinels each its own beat of sea and shore, and ready to sum-

mon aid by electric wires, will be held as much an evidence of semi-barbarism as is now among civilized nations the holding of any national coast without a system of light-house lights."

The achievements of the Weather Bureau are surprising even to those who know of its numerous observing stations spread over a land area nearly twice as great as that of Europe. But what shall we think of similar achievements on the ocean? If we are amazed at the extent of meteorological observations conducted on land, what will be our feelings on learning that similar work is being done on the sea, and predictions given for use of mariners?

And here mark the difference between a government by the people and a government by a class: naval officers in America do not receive their highest rewards for bombarding a defenceless Alexandria, or sacking a Tamatave. Their honors flow from life-saving services; and shall it not be said that the Schleys and Bartletts of America are greater than the Seymours and De Courcys of semi-civilized Europe, whose "glory is to slay"? The European method is to "make a solitude, and call it—*peace!*" The American reverses the process, and by the gentle arts of peace makes a teeming city of the solitude and a garden of the wilderness.

The Hydrographic Office prepares a remarkable monthly chart. Here, at a glance, we have the safe transatlantic route, carefully drawn to avoid the ice, which in January hardly came further south than latitude 53°. The sailing route to the equator, calculated to give ships the benefit of the trade-winds, is also as clear as careful drawing and good printing can make

it. The prevailing winds for the month are indicated, as well as the direction of ocean currents; while special symbols mark the position of wrecks, buoys adrift, water-spouts, and localities haunted by whales. Directions for the use of oil in heavy seas are printed in the corner of the chart. Derelicts drifting about in the tracks of vessels are observed, and their changing position marked from month to month. Here, for example, is a water-logged schooner, the "Twenty-one Friends," which, despite its name, has been more threatening than twenty-one enemies. The vessel was abandoned off the coast of Virginia on March 24. Being lumber laden, she continued to float; and by April 28 had drifted twelve hundred miles. During the summer months she pursued her solitary course across the Atlantic, ever followed by watchful eyes in Washington. On September 20 she was apparently making for Queenstown, but suddenly headed off for Cape Finisterre, where she was seen early in December. She has probably ere this been towed into a Spanish port. Several other floating wrecks have been watched by anxious eyes in the Hydrographic Office, which, unable to send out and destroy such dangers in the track of commerce, could only give warning by indicating, as nearly as possible, their position. This wonderful chart is soon to give the positions of fogs in the North Atlantic. Thus the ferry between the old and new lands is ever being made safer. The weather predictions are, of course, only proximate, being largely based on the periodicity of meteorological changes in the North Atlantic.

The monthly publication of this encyclopædic chart is but a small part of the work of the Hydrographic Office, which is one of the wonders of Washington. If it were

better known, it would probably be more subject to the invasion of sight-seers at the capital than the Washington Monument. But it goes quietly along, working out its own salvation, and that of thousands of poor sailors who never heard of Captain Bartlett, the

> "Cherub that sits up aloft,
> To take care of the life of poor Jack."

In the same building is the Office of Naval Intelligence, where a chart is published, indicating from month to month the supply of coal at all the coaling stations of the world, and also the means of telegraphic communication accessible to mariners wherever they may find themselves.

In natural sequence should here come an account of the life-saving service, which has already saved 26,081 lives, and property valued at seventy-eight millions of dollars. This, in America, is not an institution supported by voluntary contributions, as in England, but is a department under the government. As a result of this difference, it is claimed that the American service is more efficient than that of Britain; that a discipline almost military in its severity is necessary to obtain the best results where groups of men are working under the conditions usual at wrecks. This is a healthful and worthy rivalry. Let this be the only form of contention between the mother and her child-land. Details of this excellent organization are not called for here. Lord Salisbury's encomium is as applicable to the life-saving service as to the Senate—"marvellous in its efficiency and strength."

An important work done by the United States Army is the improvement of rivers and harbors. Here again,

under republican institutions, the profession of arms has been turned to noble account. To do battle with shoals and snags would be considered poor work for the Burnabys and Hobarts of Britain; but in the Republic it has ever been held that to save life is a higher function than to destroy it. Great America's army, no larger than that of insignificant Roumania, is set to battle with nature, not with patriotic barbarians defending their own land. In the improvement of rivers and harbors the Republic finds for her soldiers work which, while injuring no nation, brings them honor, and the country security and comfort. So extensive is the work done by the little army of the Republic, that in this division of river and harbor improvements alone the year's report covers over three hundred pages. Upward of two hundred and seven million dollars have been spent by the engineer corps on rivers and harbors since the beginning of the government; and over $24,000,000 was appropriated for this purpose in 1890.

The Light-house Board, a division of the Treasury Department, has also done much important work in a like direction. It has control of nine hundred light-houses and light-ships, a thousand beacon lights on Western rivers, and more than four thousand buoys, fog signals, and other minor aids to navigation. It employs two thousand five hundred light-keepers, crews of light-ships, etc. Here again American ingenuity is conspicuous. Many dangerous reefs are marked by a whistling-buoy which can be heard more than fifteen miles. The rougher the sea the louder this automatic siren sends out its warning voice. This "Yankee notion" has been adopted by Europe.

Still further tending to the facilitation of commerce is the Coast and Geodetic Survey. This organization has, during its sixty years of active work, surveyed and mapped the entire sea-coast of the country, including all its harbors and rivers to the head of tide. Its charts, which are known the world over as the perfection of accuracy of detail, are invaluable to commerce. Besides this, it has carried on its principal work, triangulation in the interior of the country; originated methods of determining longitude; explored the Gulf Stream; solved the problem of tides in the Gulf of Mexico, where only one tide occurs in twenty-four hours; studied the laws governing tidal currents, and the best methods of controlling them so as to aid navigation by deepening channels; and has also achieved many other valuable results.

The Geological Survey, originated some ten years ago, was organized for the purpose of studying the geological structure of the country, and to aid in the development of its enormous mineral resources. To it has been entrusted the survey of the country and the preparation of a topographic map. Every spring this organization sends to the field one hundred and fifty surveyors, to map the surface of the country, its hills and valleys, streams and lakes, roads, railroads, cities and towns. In the fall they return, having wrested from the unknown an area equal to one of the European monarchies. The map will be worthy of the Republic, but will require forty years to finish. When completed it will comprise twelve thousand sheets, which, spread out, would cover more than half an acre. It will show in miniature all the features of the country, both natural and artificial. The hills and valleys are shown by contour lines in such way that the elevation of

every point on the surface above the sea can be read from the map.

Every summer scores of geologists are scattered over the land, studying the character and succession of rocks, the origin of the hills, mountains, and valleys, tracing beds of coal and metallic ores, sometimes aided by corps of palæontologists, chemists, and physicists.

The General Land Office, a bureau of the Interior Department, is charged with the survey and disposal of the public lands, of which a vast area still remains in the hands of the government. This land is cut up into parcels for disposal in the simplest and yet the most effective manner. It is divided into mile-square sections. Thirty-six of these, six on a side, form a township under the Land Survey, and in most cases form a political township also. A quarter section of land, one hundred and sixty acres, is given to each actual settler, under the pre-emption laws. The land is also sold, the minimum price being one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Another specimen of the government's non-political work is the Army Medical Museum and Library. Thirty years ago there was not on the American continent any library in which a physician or surgeon could verify the ordinary references in his text-books, much less ascertain what had been discovered or described with regard to the structure or function of any particular organ, or the nature or treatment of any disease. Now the United States has the largest, best selected, most accessible, and most useful medical library in the world, containing over 107,000 volumes and 160,000 pamphlets, and having a famous index catalogue, which makes its treasures readily accessible, and which European medical writers who wish

to do the best work find it necessary to consult. With this library in a fireproof building is the Army Medical Museum, containing the largest and best collection in existence of the results of gun-shot wounds, and in other respects ranking with the best of the medical museums of the Old World.

The American census is the admiration and despair of Europe. Every ten years a census is taken. This is not, as in England, little more than a mere count of heads. Details are obtained of the mental, moral, and social conditions of the people; also, concerning agriculture, manufactures, mining, fisheries, and other industries; of wealth and indebtedness; in short, all of those items which constitute the stock in trade of the Republic. For this purpose an army of 50,000 enumerators and special agents was, in 1890, set in motion. Every house, farm, factory, and mine in the country from Maine to California was visited by the inquisitorial enumerator, and the results of his inquiries poured into the office at Washington. There they were sorted, sifted, tabulated, and published. More than 2,000 clerks were employed in the work, and a score of great volumes are filled with the results.

Besides the Census Office there are several statistical bureaus and divisions under the government. The Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department has in charge the collection and publication of statistics of foreign commerce and immigration. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has as its vocation the collection, study, and discussion of social statistics, especially of those relating to the laboring classes. The statistical division of the Department of Agriculture publishes at frequent and timely intervals estimates of the condition of the leading crops, and the

prices of cereals are greatly affected by these. The Geological Survey maintains a division of statistics of "mineral production," and the Fish Commission records the amount and value of fishery products. The Bureau of Education is also a statistical bureau, and its field a most useful one. A Bureau of Immigration has recently been formed, which takes charge of this important field. So that between the decennial censuses many branches of national progress are closely followed.

The census of 1890 is remarkable for the attention it has paid to the fisheries of the country. These being largely under government control and the result of the labor of the Fish Commission, I speak of them in this chapter.

The cod fishery of the North Atlantic is by far the most important, the total capital invested in 1889 being $5,876,908; persons employed, 10,113; value of product, $4,262,334. The principal fisheries in the North Atlantic besides cod are mackerel, menhaden, lobster, and sea herring. The value of the product of these in 1889 was $5,734,860.

Those indispensable luxuries of life, oysters, required for their working a capital of $10,583,295 in the year 1880; no less than 52,805 persons were employed; and the value of the product was $13,438,852. The figures for 1890 are not yet available, but will doubtless show a great increase of capital, employees, and product; the value of these bivalves per annum is certainly over $20,000,000.

More scientific attention than ever is now given to the proper planting of the oyster beds and to their care and protection. Improved methods of bringing the oysters to the surface have been introduced, and, by the aid of quick

transportation and the refrigerating power of ice, the bivalve now reaches points much further in the interior than formerly.

In the year 1889 the sum of $6,498,239 was invested in the fisheries of the Pacific States, giving employment to 13,850 persons, and securing a product valued at $6,387,803.

The salmon catch of Alaska amounted in 1893 to over seven hundred thousand tons, valued at nearly four millions of dollars.

In order to supply the great salmon-packing factories of the Pacific Coast with the enormous quantity of fish required, the fish-wheel has been devised, which, whether stationed upon the river bank or on a fishing barge, literally scoops tons of fish daily from the water.

During our recent tour to the Pacific Coast one of our most novel experiences was an evening spent at the principal fishing station on the Columbia River, which had four of these wheels. It was not the salmon season, but the mode of fishing was fully explained to us. As many as seventeen tons of salmon have been caught in twenty-four hours by one wheel. We could not but express the fear that the supply would soon be exhausted by such wholesale capture, but the owner told us that during his sixteen years' residence he had seen no signs of diminution. The fish ran up still, side by side, almost packing the river. This is only one instance of the manner in which improved methods of catching fish are so rapidly increasing the value of the fisheries of the United States; while at the same time, in spite of the wholesale capture there still seem to be as good and as many fish in the sea as ever were caught.

The following table gives the amount and value of the products of the fisheries in 1889:

	AMOUNT, TONS.	VALUE.
Coast fisheries, including rivers as high as fished on a commercial basis, . . .	653,199	$35,222,929
Lake fisheries, . . .	58,542	2,615,784
Alaska salmon catch, .	23,625	3,375,000
Total	735,366	$41,213,713

One organization for non-political work is believed to be unique. Half a century ago, Mr. James Smithson, a Briton, bequeathed the sum of half a million dollars to the American government, to be administered in the interest of science, the government to pay six per cent. interest upon it forever. This trust was accepted, and the Smithsonian Institution was formed under the control of a Board of Regents, composed in part of officers of the government and in part of scientific men. Its work consists in fostering and furthering scientific investigation, and no branch of science is foreign to it. By its aid, work in numerous branches has been initiated and placed upon a permanent footing. Thus fish culture started under the auspices of this Institution, and when it had demonstrated its title to existence, Congress made a special bureau for carrying it on. The study of meteorological phenomena was first prosecuted by this Institution, and out of it grew the Weather Bureau. The collections which formed the nucleus of the National Museum were brought together by this Institution. Within its walls, specialists in all branches of science are employed. Its collections are free

to all for study. The study of North American ethnology was also begun here, and this has developed into a Bureau of Ethnology. It is now engaged in fostering an infant Zoölogical Garden, which, under its careful nursing, may soon develop into a collection worthy of the nation.

The Institution acts, also, as a medium of exchange for scientific publications, especially between this country and Europe. In these and numerous other ways the Smithsonian Institution is nobly fulfilling its mission, the advancement of science.

The National Museum, which is allied with the Smithsonian Institution and supported by the general government, is a credit to the nation. It occupies a great and admirably arranged building, which is filled to overflowing with specimens illustrative of the arts and sciences of all people and of all times.

The Bureau of Ethnology has as its work the study of the Indians and their predecessors upon the continent, their works and their institutions. This is a pressing labor, as, although the red men are not greatly decreasing in number, their works and institutions are rapidly dying out.

The International Fisheries Exhibitions in London and Berlin have given a European renown to the work of the United States Fish Commission. At the closing of the London Exhibition the Prince of Wales stated that "in many things pertaining to the fisheries, England is far behind the United States." And Professor Huxley has expressed his belief that no nation "has comprehended the question of dealing with fish in so thorough, excellent, and scientific a spirit as that of the United States." The Rev. W. S. Lach Szyrma, of Newlyn, England, has made a trite comparison. "At the Paris Exhibition he considered

Europe as a man in full vigor, Asia as a decrepit old man, America as a boy, Australia as a baby. In the present Fishery Exhibition the case was different. America was the gem of the exhibition." That these encomiums were justified is proved by the fact that at London the United States exhibit secured fifty gold medals, forty-seven of silver, thirty of bronze, and twenty-four diplomas. At the Berlin Exhibition, America again headed the list, securing six gold medals out of ten. No wonder Europeans are astonished.

"If there be," wrote, in 1879, Sir Rose Price, author of "The Two Americas," "any race of people who exhibit more shrewdness than others in their ability to grasp and manipulate the apparently indistinct elements of what may lead to a commercial success, or be of ultimate benefit to their nation, those people are the Americans. No government throws away less money in useless expenditures, and no representative assembly more narrowly criticises waste; yet the Americans subsidize considerable sums of their national revenue for the purpose of re-stocking the rivers of the Eastern States by artificial culture, and with praiseworthy consideration their government supports several ably-conducted establishments from which fish ova are distributed gratis to all those who choose to apply. The very railroads assist this enterprise, and some by moderating their tariff, and others by generously conveying the ova free of charge, give every possible encouragement to what their common sense tells them must lead to so much national good. To expect an English government to exhibit the same amount of foresight, or to practise a similar generosity, would be to credit them with virtues which have yet to be developed. The American example, however, should not be lost sight of."

The extent of the operations of the Fish Commission can only be barely indicated here. One fact alone shows the gigantic nature of its operations: it has planted German carp in *thirty thousand* separate bodies of water,

distributed through all the States and Territories in the Union.

The American Navy adds to its numerous non-combatant functions the principal astronomical work done in the United States. It daily gives to every important city the correct time, and furnishes some data for the government publication, *The Nautical Almanac*. The naval observatory has acquired a just celebrity by its discovery of the satellites of Mars.

The Patent Office and museum is another important division of the government at Washington. Here are many thousand models of inventions of every possible kind. The list contains over four hundred different patents of a nut-lock. The policy of the Republic is to make the patent law for the protection of inventors and not the means of revenue; with such good results that more than five hundred thousand patents have been issued since 1836. In 1890 the total number of patents issued was 25,322—nearly ninety-six per cent. more than in 1880. Fifty years ago the average number of patents issued annually did not exceed five or six hundred. If one wishes to realize the extent and versatility of the American inventor, it is needful to visit the enormous museum of the Patent Office. Miles of shelves and cases are filled with models, while acres of drawings and designs adorn the walls or lie hidden away in drawers. British visitors are usually greatly impressed with what they see there. Herbert Spencer could not withhold his admiration. He says:

"The enormous museum of patents which I saw in Washington is significant of the attention paid to inventors' claims; and the nation profits immensely from having, in this direction, recognized

property in mental products. Beyond question, in respect of mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all nations."

The official publications of the results of these bureaus are so numerous that the United States Government is the largest printer and publisher in the world. In the book of estimates for the next fiscal year, recently sent to Congress, $2,026,260 (£405,252) is asked for wages alone. There are on the pay-roll eight hundred and five compositors. Seventy-four proof-readers are constantly employed, besides one hundred and fifty-one press feeders and twenty-eight ruling-machine feeders. The estimates call for eighty-eight thousand two hundred reams of printing paper, or forty-two million three hundred and thirty-six sheets, equal to six hundred and seventy-seven million three hundred and seventy-six thousand pages. Of the annual report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, four hundred thousand copies were distributed last year. The reports of the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Ethnology, the reports of the Commission of Fish and Fisheries, the Bulletins of the National Museum, and hundreds of other documents and reports are sent free and postage paid almost to everybody or anybody. For the preparation of this chapter more than seventy separate government publications were obtained, the whole forming a perfect encyclopædia of governmental methods and results, of progress in art, science, and material resources, and this little library did not cost its collector a cent. Indeed, in most instances the books were sent free from Washington to New York. Such liberality is unparalleled. The Republic is clearly no niggard in the higher departments of work, whose mission is to obtain and spread scientific knowledge.

Much other extra-governmental work is done either by the government, or, as in the case of the Smithsonian Institution, under its direction; but further details are not called for here. However opinions may differ as to the propriety of a government engaging in every kind of non-governmental work, there can be no difference of opinion as to the excellent methods and important results of these bureaus in Washington. Most of them are models of equipment and method. Of the hundreds of thousands of packages sent out by the Smithsonian Institution, not one has been lost. All these offices are entirely beyond the influence of politics, and run on from year to year as freely and frictionless as if political parties were as distant as the satellites of Mars, or as deep down in the sea as the protoplasmal jelly fish about which these men of scientific light and leading write and print monologues. Another fact elicited is that American progress is not limited to increasing crops or growing herds. In the higher domain of mind, in the alleviation of suffering, in the saving of life, in the facilitation of commerce, in the exploration of the world and the universe, in everything which tends to give life breadth as well as length, to make it more complete and more worth living, the Republic is contributing largely.

This high estimate of the value of the government bureaus has often been concurred in by foreigners. More than one celebrated Englishman has lamented that his country should be so far behind in similar work. It is the cue of the ruling classes of Europe to misrepresent the government of the Democracy. They would have the people believe that it is weak, corrupt, and inefficient; but those who examine the subject carefully know it to

be surprisingly strong, pure, efficient, and marvellously able. In none of the departments named in this chapter have politics the slightest influence. No politician even could be found willing to apply any test but the suitability of the man for the work to be performed. These departments are generally under the control of permanent army and navy officers, who, I think my readers will not fail to note, are put by the Republic to much higher uses than the performance of their "professional" duties.

If we leave the work performed under the general government and consider what the people do by means of the State and municipal governments, and even privately, we are even more strongly impressed than ever by their extraordinary power of administration.

Speaking of a vast assemblage of people, Archibald Forbes says: "What surprises me more than anything I have seen to-day, is the absence of a body of officials to take charge of the masses, and assign them to places, etc. Every American seems to understand just where he is to go, what he is to do, and how best to do it, and then he quietly goes and does it, and all comes out successfully. There is nothing like this in Europe." Such is the universal testimony of competent foreign observers.

The cause of this self-governing capacity lies in the fact that from his earliest youth the republican feels himself a man. He is called upon to participate in the management of the local affairs of his township, county, or city, or in his relations with his fellows, in his church, trades-union, coöperative store, or reading-room, or even in his musical or dramatic society, base-ball, cricket, or boating club. Everywhere he is ushered into a democratic system of government in which he stands upon an

equal footing with his fellows, and in which he feels himself bound to exercise the rights of a citizen. Those possessed of talent for management naturally rise to command in their small circles; and upon great public occasions, when thousands of such circles are massed, the orderly habits prevailing in each circle render possible the easy and proper management of the vast gathering.

We can confidently claim for the Democracy that it produces a people self-reliant beyond all others; a people who depend less upon official aid and more upon themselves in all the complex relations of society than any people hitherto known. At the same time their individual talent for organization and administration has been so concentrated as to produce through official channels various departments of universal benefit to the commonwealth, none of which have ever been equalled, and some of which have never even been attempted, under monarchical government. We look in vain throughout the world for such beneficent organizations connected with the government of any country as many of those described in this chapter. So far, therefore, from the government of the people falling behind the government of a class in the art of government, we are amazed at the contrast presented between the old form and the new in favor of the new. The truth is that the aristocratic form, which tends to confine power to a class, independent of natural abilities, lacks the vigor and elasticity necessary to cope with the republican, who holds power only through superior capacity in any department of government.

CHAPTER XXII

THE NATIONAL BUDGET

"I can get no remedy against this consumption of the purse : borrowing only lingers and lingers it out, but the disease is incurable."—SHAKESPEARE.

CIVILIZED nations groan under their loads of debt. With the exception of Great Britain, the national debts of European powers keep swelling at a rapid pace. The national debt of the Republic, on the other hand, a few years ago seemed likely to be entirely extinguished ere this. A few years more, and our surplus revenues under the existing laws would have paid off every dollar. Two causes intervened; chiefly, the enormous payments for pensions, and more recently the repeal of the duty upon sugar by the much-abused McKinley bill.

In 1835 the Republic was not only free from debt, but had a surplus in her treasury; she had freed herself from debt by the novel expedient of paying it off. Then the difficulty arose, how to dispose of the surplus. This became a matter of the greatest concern, and it is a curious fact that there existed no precedent to throw light upon the question how a nation could get rid of a surplus. Finally the vexed question was disposed of by distributing the troublesome surplus among the States.

Even as late as 1857 the debt was only twenty-nine millions of dollars. The civil war increased the debt to

three thousand millions, leaving unsettled claims and various payments amounting to a great sum. This of course was in addition to the enormous sums raised by taxation during the four years of the war, which in one year exceeded five hundred millions of dollars.

In 1866, only twenty-six years ago, the debt of the United States remained in round numbers three thousand millions of dollars. The annual interest charge was no less than one hundred and forty-six millions of dollars. Many were the predictions throughout Europe that the masses who held unlimited sway here would never take such a load upon their shoulders, and patiently endure the taxation necessary to pay the interest; much less would or could they ever pay off the principal. Under universal suffrage, the government would never be permitted to pay back in gold the par value of the debt. It required a government of the educated few, a monarchy, for instance, to keep its financial honor thus untarnished. In Britain such ideas prevailed, especially among financiers. Mr. Gladstone refers to this in "Kin Beyond the Sea."

"In twelve years she (America) has reduced her debt by one hundred and fifty-eight million pounds, or at the rate of thirteen million pounds for each year. In each twelve months she has done what we did in eight years; her self-command, self-denial, and wise forethought for the future have been, to say the least, eightfold ours. These are facts which redounded greatly to her honor; and the historian will record with surprise that an enfranchised nation tolerated burdens which in this country a selected class, possessed of the representation, did not dare to face, and that the most unmitigated Democracy known to the annals of the world resolutely reduced at its own cost prospective liabilities of the state which the aristocratic, and plutocratic, and monarchical government of the United Kingdom had been contented ignobly to hand over to posterity."

The financiers of the Continent, and especially of Germany, knew the character of Democracy better, and profited accordingly. Many fortunes were made by investments in American bonds, which rapidly doubled in value. The most notable case in the writer's experience was that of an uncle in Scotland, who had always, like John Bright, believed in the Republic, and had implicit faith in the American people in general, and perhaps in his nephew in particular. At the darkest hour of the conflict, when gold was worth nearly three times the value of currency, this stanch friend of the Republic remitted a considerable sum of money, saying: "Invest this for me as you think best, but if you put it in United States bonds it will add to my pleasure, for then I can feel that in her hour of danger I have aided the Republic." Three times the value of his gold when remitted, and double the value of his patriotic investment since, have rewarded his faith in the triumph of Democracy.

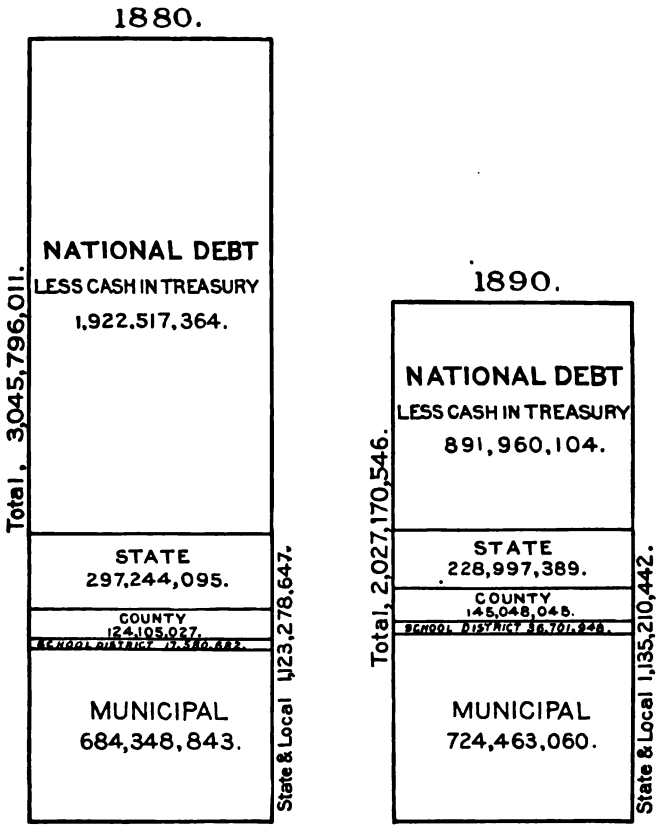
For twenty-four years the Republic has not only paid the interest charge promptly when due, but beginning promptly to pay off the principal, it has reduced it rapidly. In 1890 its entire obligations, less the cash available in the treasury, amounted only to eight hundred and ninety-one millions of dollars; two thousand one hundred millions having been paid at the rate of nearly ninety millions a year. Britain boasts of having reduced her debt two hundred and twenty-seven million dollars in the last ten years, but within this period the Republic has reduced hers to the extent of ten hundred and thirty millions, four times as much as her mother, and was only prevented from wiping off almost the whole debt because the outstanding bonds, not being due, could be paid only by

buying them at a heavy premium. Indeed, her revenues have been so great as to embarrass her, and she has been forced, in order to prevent accumulations of funds in her treasury, to purchase most of these bonds at twenty-five to twenty-eight per cent. premium. She is probably the only country that has ever suffered from an embarrassment of riches. Of the present debt, seven hundred and eleven millions bears interest, the total interest charge being less than twenty-nine millions annually, instead of one hundred and forty-six millions as in 1866. As the principal has been reduced, the credit of the country has risen, so that its four per cent. bonds command a premium of twenty-five per cent., and its three per cent. bonds are above par. The annual interest is less than half a dollar per head of the population. The principal of the debt is fourteen dollars per inhabitant, and only one and four-tenths per cent. of the wealth of the country.

The American has to continue for only ten years more to reduce the national debt as rapidly as he has reduced it during the past twenty years, in order to wipe it out entirely. Ere the close of this century (extraordinary events excepted) the last bond of the Republic could be publicly burned at Washington with imposing ceremonies, amidst the universal rejoicings of the people. The Democracy seems destined to set an example in many ways to the monarchies of the world, not the least important being that of a people resolutely pursuing the policy of reducing its debt until the last dollar is paid, that its resources may remain unimpaired to meet the emergencies which may arise to affect its position among the nations. Where is the monarchy that can vie with this Democracy in conservative finance or thoughtful care

[*The following table shows the national, State, county, and municipal debt in* 1880 *and in* 1890.]

TOTAL DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES, LESS SINKING FUND, NATIONAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL, IN 1880 AND 1890.



for its country's future? Mr. Gladstone says the parent land ignobly hands her debt over to posterity.

From a position so discredited that six per cent. bonds did not net more than half their par value in gold, the government of the people has risen in the estimation of the capitalists of the world to so high a point that its bonds bearing only three per cent. command a premium. What the world thinks of Democracy is this: that beyond the credit of any nation, even higher than that of Great Britain, stand the obligations of a government founded upon the equality of the citizen.

A leading Liberal Cabinet Minister once asked me whether in a contingency which then threatened to arise in the Republic, namely, a contested Presidential election (and which did indeed arise but passed away harmlessly), there might not be such disturbance as would involve the stability of our institutions. My reply was: "Have you noticed to-day's quotations of American three per cents.?" "No," he said; "what are they?" "Higher than yours!" I said, and looked straight at him. That was all, but it was sufficient. Whenever a man, even a Liberal Cabinet Minister, begins to doubt the stability of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people—and there are Liberal Ministers whose faith in the Democracy is as a grain of mustard seed—ask him why the credit of this new Democracy stands before that of the old Monarchy? Why would the world lend this Democracy more money upon better terms than it would lend the best government of the few? Why does the world pay a premium for American three per cents. while British three per cents. are under par? The answer is obvious. Because the reign of the whole of the people of a state is

more secure than the reign of any class in a state can possibly be. A class may be upset; nay, is sure to be, sooner or later; the people are for ever and ever in power. The Republic has shown the world that the people in power are honest, debt-paying, and most conservative of all good things. What the people of Britain are to be when they come to power, is yet to be proven. I have no doubt but that Democracy yonder will develop as it has here; but capital, with its well-known timidity, says with Shylock,

"I will be assured."

This is what Democracy, the highest type of modern civilization, has done with its obligations. How is it with the monarchies of Europe? Every first-class power of Europe, except the mother country, has increased her debt during the past decade. These go on borrowing and borrowing, pressed by the necessity of maintaining armies and navies to intimidate their neighbors. No thought of paying their debts enters their minds. The debts of foreign nations have increased in the past ten years no less than eleven hundred and thirty-seven millions of dollars, and the people are ground down by taxes mainly for the support of armaments. Here are their debts in 1880 and 1890:

DEBT, LESS SINKING FUND.

	1880.	1890.
Austria-Hungary . .	$2,282,000,000	$2,930,000,000
Britain	3,578,000,000	3,350,000,000
France	4,275,000,000	4,447,000,000
Germany	1,025,000,000	1,867,000,000
Italy	2,014,000,000	2,325,000,000
Russia	3,319,000,000	3,491,000,000
The United States . .	1,922,000,000	892,000,000

The debt of Austria-Hungary has increased in ten years six hundred and forty-eight millions; that of France, one hundred and seventy-two millions; of Germany, including those of the empire and of the German states, not less than eight hundred and forty-two millions; that of Russia, one hundred and seventy-three millions; of Italy, three hundred and ten millions; while, on the other hand, the mother country, all praise to her, has reduced hers two hundred and twenty-seven millions in the same time.

The debts of nations amounted in 1890 to the prodigious sum of twenty-seven thousand five hundred and twelve millions, two-fifths of the entire valuation of the richest country on the globe.

This enormous indebtedness has been mainly incurred in war or preparation for war. It is sometimes easy to meet deficits by the proceeds of new loans, but it were well if nations resembled the Chinese laundryman of New York, who refused to give a note bearing interest. "No notee," said our heathen Chinee; "notee walkee, walkee allee timee; walkee, no sleepee." Nations forget this peculiarity of new issues; sleeping or waking the load of interest swells noiselessly, on Saturdays and Sundays alike.

All the other races except our own appear content to borrow as long as they can, and let the future take care of itself. We are not without ominous signs that in some instances the strain upon their resources cannot be increased further without danger. Perhaps the Democracy is soon to waken to the truth that these vast accumulations of debt have their real source in the rule of monarchs and courts, whose jealousies and dynastic ambitions, stimulated by the great military classes always created by

them, produce the wars or continual preparation for wars which eat up the people's substance and add to their burdens year after year. A nation with a large standing army and a huge navy is bound to make wars.

It was often remarked, up to the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, that the American did not know that he had a national government. Certainly, as far as taxation was concerned, the American had little to remind him of the existence of the general government. In 1830 the total revenues collected were not quite $2 per head (8*s.*); in 1840 they had fallen below $1.25 (5*s.*); and even as late as 1860, thirty-two years ago, the American enjoyed all the blessings of national government at a cost of $1.75 (7*s.*) per annum. This was collected principally from customs and sales of public lands. There was no such thing known as an excise or internal tax, so that the citizen never was visited by a revenue officer of any kind. The American was born, lived, and died, and never asked to contribute a cent directly to his government. Unless he lived at a seaport and visited the custom-house, he probably never saw a man whose duty it was to collect a national tax; and just as probably he never saw a national soldier. In 1860, the total national revenue was only $56,000,000 (£11,200,000). In 1866 it reached its maximum, or $558,000,000 (£111,600,000). After 1860 war taxes were necessary, and the republican became for the first time aware of the fact, too well known almost everywhere else, that it costs money to wage war. Internal and excise taxes were resorted to, and the citizen made the acquaintance of the revenue officer in full force. For the first time his revenues were made subject to an income tax, fairest of all taxes in theory, most unjust of all in practice.

It was, however, a graduated income tax, which exempted the masses, but exacted five per cent. upon the largest incomes. During the six years from 1861 to 1867 enormous sums, from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000 (£80,000,000 to £100,000,000), were raised from taxation by the general government. The republican might have fancied himself enjoying for a time the blessings of the British Monarchy, for the taxation was about equal, each nation drawing about $400,000,000 (£80,000,000) per annum from its people. With the collapse of the Rebellion the Republic began to set its finances in order. Taxes were rapidly reduced, and among the first to go was the income tax. Then followed the reduction or repeal of one internal tax after another, until finally none remain except taxes upon whiskey and tobacco, producing in the aggregate $145,000,000 (£29,000,000). With this exception the republican knows nothing of internal taxation. His acquaintance with the revenue officer has almost ceased. In like manner the customs duties have been and are being reduced. Many articles hitherto dutiable have been placed upon the free list, until to-day about fifty-five per cent. of all the imports of foreign merchandise are free. The average duty upon importations has been reduced from forty-seven per cent. in 1868 to twenty per cent. by the passage of the McKinley bill, 1890. The duties upon many articles to-day are less than half those exacted for some years after the Civil War. If it were not for the immovable determination of the people not to permit whiskey and tobacco to escape special taxation as articles the use of which should be discouraged, the entire department of internal revenue would soon be abolished, for to reduce the number of government officials and free the citizen entirely from their

supervision is a temptation hard to resist by the American people.

We beg the attention of thoughtful men to the fact that although the income tax was paid wholly by the few, yet the masses, upon whom it had no direct bearing, urged its repeal, because it was proved in practice that the honest were assessed and the dishonest escaped. Thus we have one more proof that the masses can always be trusted to act fairly and to correct injustice.

Since 1866, when the national revenues from taxation amounted to $17 (£3 8*s.*) from each man, woman, and child in the country, they had fallen in 1891 to $6.14, and of this more than $1 (4*s.*) per head went to reduce the debt, leaving $5 for current expenditure.

In 1891 the general government was in receipt of nearly $393,000,000, notwithstanding reductions in both tariff and internal revenue by the McKinley bill, estimated at sixty-five millions of dollars. How, then, does the Republic spend her eighty millions sterling per annum, a revenue about equal to that collected by the British Government? Here is the record for 1891. First, of course, for interest upon the national debt; this required thirty-seven and a half millions.

And what, think you, is the one great charge upon the state? For what does the Republic spend most money? Republics are proverbially ungrateful; so says the monarchist. Well, this Republic certainly does not spend five millions of dollars per annum upon a single family and its appurtenances, nor lavish fortunes at one vote upon its high officials, or members of the aristocracy. But it spends more money in pensions to the soldiers and sailors who served it in its hour of need than upon any branch

of the service; more than upon army and navy and the interest upon its debt combined. To reward these men—not one man or a few high officers alone, as is the case in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, but every man, private as well as commander—the Republic spent in 1892 no less than $140,000,000.

If it be a failing thus lavishly to reward those who saved the Republic, surely it is a failing that leans to virtue's side. Far better that we should overpay than underpay these men and their widows. The Republic is rich; it has almost extinguished its debt. Without increase of taxation, its present revenues are sufficient to meet all expenses of government and to pay these pensions. There is a cry of fraud in connection with them, but it is only a cry. The names of the pensioners are known in every small district. Whether a man served in the war and is entitled under the law to a pension, is known to all his neighbors. Prompt exposure would inevitably follow a fraudulent recipient of the nation's bounty. It is an open question whether the laws are or are not too liberal in regard to pensions, but payments to impostors can be few and trifling indeed. It is worth while to reward liberally those who fought our battles. We shall thereby wipe out the reproach that republics are ungrateful, and prove to the world that no monarchy, no absolute government, ever was as grateful or as generous. It is a good lesson to teach the world and to impress upon the citizen, that the Republic takes and will continue to take good care of the man and his family who answers its call in the hour of danger. The proclamation of the President of the United States for volunteers to defend the Republic would be answered by more

men and better men, and better soldiers, man for man, than would volunteer at the call of all the monarchs of Europe. This is another fact of which the world might wisely take note.

In twenty years we have paid nearly $2,000,000,000 of the principal of our national debt, and $2,500,000,000 in interest, and $1,300,000,000 in pensions.

The number of pensioners on the roll June 30, 1892, was 876,604. During the year 1891 one hundred and thirty-six millions were disbursed for pensions. I heard Mr. Cowen, the Radical—nay, the Republican—member for Newcastle, in a speech in the House of Commons favoring the grant to Wolseley and Seymour, hold up to scorn the American Republic for the shabby manner in which it treated its servants. The difference here is just the difference between a monarchy and a republic, between the rule of the people and the rule of a class. In the monarchy the officers are unduly rewarded by their class, who are in power, whether called Liberal or Conservative; while the private, who has few or none of his class as legislators, is neglected. In a Republic the first care is for the masses in army or navy, the privates, and their widows and orphans; the officers come after, though both share liberally. So in all legislation: the good of the millions first, the desires of the few afterward. This statement is worth emphasizing. The Republic gives nearly as much each year to the brave men (or their widows and orphans) who defended the integrity of the nation when assailed, as she expends upon all other departments combined—payments of pensions being nearly one-half the total expenditure of the government. If republics are, as a rule, ungrateful, at least we find a notable

exception to the rule in the case of the greatest republic of all. The truth is, that republics are only prudent in giving to the rich few, and prodigal to a fault in lavishing upon the poorer masses. Time after time, since the close of the war, the pension roll has been enlarged and the payments increased. It seems as if the people could not lavish enough upon, or sufficiently testify their gratitude to, the soldiers and sailors who have served them. To the charge that republics are ungrateful, the reply is that one republic gives more in pensions to its citizens who have served in army or navy than all the other governments of the world combined.

Next in cost comes the War Department, which, although of ridiculously small dimensions compared with that of other civilized nations, cost in 1891, I regret to chronicle, nearly $49,000,000 (£9,800,000), which was exceptionally great. The cost averages about $45,000,000 (£9,000,000). The Navy Department absorbed $26,000,000 (£5,200,000).

As the army consists of but twenty-five thousand men, we cannot look for any reduction till the vast, unoccupied Territories are peopled. A strong, armed police force is required to keep the Indians in order, and the almost equally troublesome aggregate of restless spirits from all lands who naturally gravitate to the semi-civilized life which precedes the reign of law and order. In the States, as distinguished from the Territories, the American rarely sees a man in uniform whose profession is the scientific killing of other men. The war expenditure, one is delighted to record, embraces the improvement of harbors and rivers, and upon this highly useful work many of the officers are constantly engaged. The engineer corps has

rendered exceptionally valuable services in this department. An annual appropriation is made for improving rivers and harbors, $10,000,000 to $20,000,000 (£2,000,000 to £4,000,000), and charged to the War Department, which should fairly be deducted from war expenditures, for this is not for war but for commercial purposes.

The following statement shows the amount appropriated by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of the United States from the earliest date (1802) up to and including the act of Congress, September, 1890:

LOCALITIES.	AMOUNT APPROPRIATED.
Atlantic Coast	$57,773,904
Gulf of Mexico	20,407,011
Mississippi Valley	76,827,463
Great Lakes	42,036,327
Pacific Coast	9,999,165
Total	$207,043,870

The American people annually spend upon the three hundred thousand Indians scattered over the land about $6,000,000 to $8,000,000, equal to $20 (£4) per Indian. They are as kindly treated as practicable. A commission of well-known philanthropic men of national reputation is appointed by the President to supervise all matters relating to these poor, unfortunate tribes. The success of the Indian policy may best be judged by the fact that, out of the total number of three hundred and ten thousand, no less than sixty-six thousand are reported civilized, the proof of civilization being that they pay taxes; and of all the proofs possible to adduce, we submit this is the most conclusive. The political economist, at least, will seek no further. It is, indeed, surprising that one-fifth of all the Indians have abandoned their nomadic habits and em-

braced civilization. It is clear that the real, live, war-whooping Indian is being rapidly civilized off the face of the earth. We shall soon search as hopelessly over the prairies for the "noble red man" as over Scotch moors and glens for the kilted clansmen of Scott.

Under the head of miscellaneous come a thousand-and-one items of expenditure which embrace everything not under heads before given. The total was about $110,000,000 (about £22,000,000) in 1891. The principal items are for the agricultural, meteorological, and educational departments and the numerous bureaus which, by their varied and useful functions, cause such astonishment and admiration in foreign visitors to Washington.

As the Republic pays every official who renders service, it may be interesting to compare the cost of this plan with that of the Monarchy, which depends upon the gratuitous services of its legislators. Here is the account:

THE REPUBLIC.

The President	$50,000	£10,000
The Vice-President	9,000	1,800
Eighty-eight Senators ($5,000 or £1,000 each)	440,000	88,000
Three hundred and fifty-six Representatives ($5,000 or £1,000 each)	1,780,000	356,000
	$2,279,000	£455,800

THE MONARCHY.

The Queen	$3,100,000	£619,379
Prince and Princess of Wales	600,000	120,000
Other Members of the Royal Family	605,000	121,000
	$4,305,000	£860,379

Members of the Cabinet are paid about the same in both countries.

The total annual cost in salaries for the governors and lieutenant-governors and of the senators and representatives of the forty-four State governments is $3,622,621. No governor receives more than $10,000 per annum, and only three receive this sum. The salaries of State senators and representatives range from three to ten dollars per day.

Some well-informed Britons believe that the cost of government in America is greater than their own. The figures given prove that the amount paid by the Republic for the four hundred officers and legislators who form her governing body does not amount to half as much as the Monarchy squanders upon one family which has no political responsibility, and which sets an example of wasteful and showy living, to the injury of the nation. One scarcely knows at which to wonder most, the people permitting this great sum to go to one family, for no service whatever; or that any well-educated family, possessed of even ordinary sensibility, can be found to take from a people, many of whom are sorely pressed for the necessaries of life, this enormous amount of their earnings, and waste it upon their own coarse extravagance. Nothing more clearly proves the corrupting tendency of privilege or caste upon those unfortunately born within it. They must grow callous and unmindful of all but themselves.

The royal family is only one of many evils which monarchical institutions bring upon a state. The *Financial Reform Almanac* states that within the last thirty-three years the dukes, earls, and marquises, with their relatives, the inevitable parasites of royalty, have taken from

the exchequer more than £66,000,000 ($330,000,000), an average levy of two millions sterling, being as great as the entire sum spent by the government for the education of the people. John Bright told the people that the government was only a system of out-door relief for the aristocracy, and he was right, as usual. It is well for the American people to get a glimpse now and then of the blots of other lands, that they may duly appreciate their own comparative purity. Whenever an American is met abroad with the assertion that government in the Republic is corrupt, he can safely say that for one ounce of corruption here, there is a full pound avoirdupois in Britain; for every "job" here, twenty yonder. Just look at some of the "jobs": The Prince of Wales is colonel of this or that regiment, and draws salaries for duties he does not pretend to perform. He has many mean modes of drawing money from the public. He is made a field marshal; one brother gets a high command in India; the Duke of Edinburgh gets command of the Channel fleet; the Duke of Cambridge, although commander-in-chief, does not scorn to draw a salary as Ranger of Richmond Park; and royal favorites by the score monopolize sinecure positions. One nobleman gets £4,000 ($20,000) per year for walking backward before her Majesty upon certain occasions, and so on through a chapter of "jobs," so long and irritating that no American could patiently read it through. When the Democracy gets firmly in the saddle we shall see a change in all this, a purifying of the Augean stables of Monarchy. The corruption then exposed will surprise the republican.

There could not be found to-day a family whose head is in public life and honored by the Republic which would accept and use as the royal family accepts and uses the

inordinate sums granted to them. The tendency of republicanism is to promote simplicity and a standard higher than that of ostentatious living. President Cleveland in his first inaugural message expressed the feelings of the people when he said:

"We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited to the operation of a republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity."

The Monarchy thinks show grand; the Republic votes it vulgar.

To sum up, the government of the people in twenty-four years has reduced its debt at the average rate of ninety million dollars per annum, and the interest charge of its debt to one-fifth its cost.

It has abolished and reduced taxes from time to time, until there remains of internal taxation only the taxes upon whiskey and tobacco. The income tax has gone with the others. Duties upon foreign imports have been reduced from an average of forty-seven per cent. to twenty per cent. Such a record the world has not seen before.

The best way to enable the reader to get a clear idea of the national finances is this, based upon the year 1891:

Fixed cost of the National Government in all departments, including the Post-Office, Army, Navy, and deficiencies	$121,891,000
The taxes on liquor and tobacco in 1891 yielded .	170,000,000

The liquor and tobacco tax, therefore, meets all the

permanent expenditures of the government, and leaves a surplus of fifty millions per annum. The interest on the national debt is about twenty-eight millions. The same tax pays that also, and still leaves us over twenty million dollars surplus. The miscellaneous receipts of the government from sales of public lands, fees, etc., were in 1891 twenty-seven millions of dollars. In 1890 they were thirty millions. Adding this to the balance of the internal taxes, we have again fifty millions surplus. From this we take seventeen millions of dollars for public buildings and the improvement of rivers and harbors, and we spend on new vessels for the navy eleven millions. We advance the Pacific railroads about seven and a half millions, which, however, is to be repaid. We spend nine millions supporting the Indians, and three millions and a half for soldiers' homes—in all, say sixty millions. Drawing again upon the internal and miscellaneous receipts, we are short only ten millions of dollars. This, however, is more than made up by a decrease in the interest on the national debt of five millions, and the repayment of the amount advanced to the Union Pacific Railway, seven and a half millions. The increased receipts from liquor and tobacco taxes this year will leave a considerable surplus, certainly not less than ten millions.

Now let us summarize. Out of the miscellaneous receipts of the government and the liquor and tobacco taxes, the whole permanent expenditure of the United States government is fully paid, including not only the executive and legislative departments, the army and navy, etc., erection of public buildings, and improvement of rivers and harbors, but interest on the national debt, and everything which can be called a recurring source of

expense. This can be done even if no reduction takes place from the appropriations for 1891. There is no other charge upon the government of any kind except pensions, which are in their nature temporary. After payment of arrears, it is estimated that payments for pensions will fall each year to the extent of twenty millions. No account is here taken of duties on imports or of an income tax or legacy duty. Liquor and tobacco and miscellaneous will pay the whole bill. It is evident that the citizen of the Republic is not to be overburdened with taxation.

The answer to doubters of the stability of Democracy, like Sir Henry Maine, is here—March, 1892:

Republican two per cents	99¼
Monarchical two and three-fourths per cents . .	98⅞

The triumph of Democracy is palpable in many departments. In education, in population, in wealth, in agriculture and in manufactures, in commerce and in annual savings, as we have seen, it stands first; but to the conservative mind surely the last domain in which the Democracy could be expected to excel even Great Britain is that of credit. It has been the boast, one of the many proud boasts of the dear parent land, that her institutions were stable as the rock, as proved by her consols, which stood preëminent throughout the world. Now comes her republican child, and plucks from her queenly head the golden crown of public credit as hers of right, and places it upon her own fair brow. It has been my privilege to recount many victories for Triumphant Democracy, but surely the world will join me in saying none is more surprising than this, that the credit of the Republic stands before that of Great Britain and first in all the world.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RECORD OF THE DECADE 1880–1890

"Be of good cheer, fellow-citizens; the flight of the Republic is not only onward but upward, each succeeding decade better than its predecessor in things spiritual as in things material—'all goes well.'"

THE American at home, spinning along with his country, can obtain little idea of the amazing rate at which she is moving in comparison with other parts of the world. It is only when he sits down and studies statistics that he becomes almost dizzy at discovering the velocity with which she is rushing on. The prayer cannot be repressed, that as this unparalleled material development proceeds there may come with it a like growth in the arts, in knowledge, in education, in national virtue, and in all the refinements of life. Happily, evidences abound on every hand that such is the case. The record of the decade just passed may be summed up substantially as follows:

The most creditable and by far the most important national act was that which established international copyright. Since the abolition of slavery, the denial of this has been the only blot upon the escutcheon of the Republic. We no longer steal the most precious of all labor, that of the men and women who write what people desire to read. This is a moral triumph, and ranks by itself beyond and above any other we have to record.

If for nothing else, then for this alone the decade would have been rendered memorable.

The war against the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage has been vigorously waged with most encouraging results. Seven States of the Union have now prohibitory laws.

The license fee for a saloon now ranges in some of the larger States from five hundred to a thousand dollars. The effect of this "high license" policy has been to reduce the number of saloons about one-third. In 1884 Pennsylvania had 20,156 licensed liquor dealers, and in 1889 only half that number, 10,523. Texas licensed houses fell from 4,399 to 3,534; Alabama from 1,706 to 925; Massachusetts from 8,157 to 5,835—in the face, of course, of an increasing population.

In four cities of Massachusetts—Boston, Lowell, Fall River, and Lynn—the aggregate number of saloons was reduced from 2,286 in 1888 to 900 in 1889. The license fees in the latter year ranged from $1,000 in Boston to $1,300 in each of the other cities, having been raised since 1888 from $400 in Boston and Lynn and $500 and $1,000 in Lowell and Fall River respectively.

In Philadelphia, in 1886, with a license fee of $50, there were 6,140 saloons and 28,122 arrests for drunkenness; in 1890, the license fee having been raised to $500, there were but 1,172 saloons and 20,937 arrests for drunkenness.

The final settlement of the Mormon question has been reached by the abolition of the only objectionable feature in the religion of that sect. It is only a few years since a clergyman wrote a book in which he announced seven perils impending over the Republic. One of these was Mormonism, which has thus so suddenly vanished into

air. Another of the seven perils was intemperance, which is also passing away. One may travel for months and never see a man under the influence of liquor, and if he sees one it is a poor foreigner. The native American is a sober man.

The third peril which was so terrible for the Republic, according to the reverend alarmist, was immigration; yet but fourteen per cent. of the present population, a proportion which must rapidly decline, is of foreign birth, and these have, almost without exception, readily adapted themselves to republican conditions and become good citizens. The growth of the Catholic Church was another of the perils of the Republic, and of course the direst of all; but it does not increase relatively to the population, and even if it did, no peril to the Republic would ensue. So fade away these imaginary perils of this overexcited preacher, and thus the Republic ever confounds her prophets of evil. Anxious as this writer no doubt was to obtain the publication of his pessimistic alarm, which figures readily accessible would have entirely disproved, one wonders how much more anxious he must now be to recall it.

In theology, as noted in the chapter on religion, there have been during the decade most encouraging signs of the coming of the day when brethren will dwell together in unity. The bonds of sectarianism are relaxing, and less attention is being paid to what a man believes and more to what he does. The decade was memorable for several trials for insubordination and heresy in Protestant denominations, and, in one or more cases, even in the Catholic Church. The result of these trials has been very satisfactory to those known as "liberals" in theology.

The sums, amounting to many millions, bequeathed by individuals for educational and philanthropic ends; and what is much more encouraging, the great sums given by an unusual number of men during life for these and kindred objects, have been notable in the decade just past. Millionnaires are beginning to realize more and more the force of Seneca's words, "However owned, all is but a trust"—a trust to be administered during life for the good of the public from whom it came.

The change and advance made in education, in deference to modern ideas, has almost transformed our universities. These now give degrees for scientific instruction upon the same footing as for classics. In several universities the scientific has already become the most important course. No university or college could stand to-day which had not changed its methods and realized at last that its duty was to make our young men fit to be American citizens and not to waste their time trying to make poor imitations of Greeks and Romans. The study of English literature is now given proper precedence in the curriculums of several colleges, and Williams College has just discarded the knowledge of Latin and Greek as a test of admission. The widening of instruction in the public schools is also notable. Several States have embraced manual training, sewing, cookery, etc., and the schools of the city of New York are about to experiment with the kindergarten. The instruction given in the free public schools, formerly limited to the three R's, has been steadily extended to embrace other branches.

In literature there has been great progress, and American authors have won audience and popularity even abroad to a flattering degree; but we still await the com-

ing of our epoch-maker in literature. Many important books have been published, among these the Encyclopedia of Painters and Painting, Music and Musicians, Architecture and Architects, and the greatest English dictionary.

Some progress has been made in the direction of phonetic spelling. Several improvements have been established and more are to follow. A new dictionary soon to be published goes so far as to substitute an "f" for "ph" in sulphur. Under the International Copyright Act many European books are now being published upon this side. Herbert Spencer surprised me by saying he had to await the receipt of his latest volume from New York, in order to present copies to a few friends. The work was published only in the United States. Although some of these British-American books are bound in Britain, their nativity is discovered by the improved spelling of the American, which has recently caused an angry controversy in the old land. This country promises soon to become the home of book printing in the English language.

The progress in typewriting and stenography has been so great as to justify the conclusion that ere long the intermediate process of stenography will not be required for dictation. Some typewriters now print direct from dictation, and what a few do must soon be done by all; the standard has been set, just as when a few clever telegraphers discarded the use of printed slips and learned to read by the sound of the instrument, all soon followed. The next generation will probably be taught stenography as well as ordinary writing, but the succeeding generation may not be taught writing at all, but only stenography. A common system may have been found by that time

which all can write and read, so that translation will be unnecessary.

Apart from these moral and educational triumphs, I am disposed to rank as the most distinguishing feature of the past ten years the wonderful progress, amounting almost to revolution, in architecture and interior decoration. The advance in musical culture has not been much less decided. The country has now three permanent orchestras. There is danger, however, that orchestral music may destroy the oratorio entirely. There has been satisfactory progress in some branches of painting and sculpture, but not such as to constitute an epoch in the coming national school of art. In black and white, however, the Republic has attained preëminence. In painting, what has been gained in technique has been more than lost in some schools by the adoption of vulgar and unworthy subjects; a large number of our painters are becoming nothing but poor copyists of the least beautiful and most ignoble modern works of France.

This is the banner decade for the admission of new States to the Union. It is seemingly impossible that any future one can rival it. No less than six States were added, comprising an area of 546,395 square miles, more than four times the total area of the United Kingdom, more than twice the area of the German Empire, much more than twice that of France, and just equal to the combined area of the whole of them. Four Great Britains and Irelands in size added to the Union in ten short years! What pygmies in comparison all other civilized nations are soon to become!

The decade shows no diminution in the inventive progress of the American. On the contrary, it appears

that it has been greatly stimulated, there having been issued in the year 1890, 25,322 patents, as compared with 12,926 in 1880.

In the field of invention we have to chronicle many achievements. The telephone has come into general use, and electricity, not only for light but as a motor, is now one of our most useful agents. Five thousand miles of cable and electric railway have been built. The phonograph and graphophone are coming into use. The kodak has made photography universal. Through several important inventions the new metal, aluminum, has conquered many fields and promises great results. We can claim for the decade that this article, which formerly cost ninety dollars per pound, is now sold for sixty cents. We may some day "buy gold cheap" through this sorceress, Science.

In material prosperity no previous decade has approached that under review. It has been almost incredible. Population has increased twelve and a half millions; all the rest of the English-speaking race increased only four and a quarter millions. Wealth has risen from $43,642,000,000 in 1880 to $65,000,000,000 in 1890. The wealth per inhabitant has increased from $366 in 1850 and $870 in 1880, to over $1,000 in 1890, an increase of nearly two hundred per cent. in forty years. As Mulhall says, "This is a prodigious growth of wealth, without a parallel in the history of the human race."

We also note that the decade is remarkable for the unparalleled reduction of public, State, and municipal debt compared with population. The national debt was reduced more than a thousand millions, and is now less than nine hundred million dollars; the total debt of the States in 1890 was only two hundred and twenty-nine

millions, a reduction from $5.93 per capita in 1880 to $3.66. Contrary to popular opinion, the extent of mortgage debts upon agricultural land has relatively fallen. No other civilized nation compares with the Republic in freedom from debt.

The decade is memorable beyond all others and beyond any in the history of any other land in the reduction of taxation through national legislation. Taxes were abolished and reduced by the McKinley bill to the amount of more than sixty millions per annum, chiefly through the abolition of the sugar duties and also by placing upon the free list many hundreds of articles hitherto dutiable, and through reductions of duty upon all kinds of finished iron and steel. No legislative assembly in the world ever reduced taxes to such an extent as the Congress of 1889–90. The McKinley bill reduced the duty collected per capita to $2.67, the lowest amount collected since the war.

The production of pig-iron increased from 3,781,021 tons to 9,579,779 tons. The Republic has become the largest iron and steel manufacturing country. In cotton, wool, and silk manufacture, great increases have been made. The manufacturing development of the South is chiefly the work of the decade. The production of tin plate is also the child of the last ten years.

A notable feature has been the remarkable number of foreign manufacturers who have established branch factories upon this side of the Atlantic, especially those making plushes, velvets, machine-made laces, and textile fabrics of various kinds, and also every variety of pearl buttons and of tin plate.

We must note the great advance made in exports of

manufactured articles since 1880. It is the general impression that the Republic supplies the world with food, and this it certainly does to a great extent; but it should be better known than I believe it is that the Republic is beginning to supply the world with many manufactured articles as well. In agricultural implements we now export nearly four million dollars' worth per annum. We supply the world with clocks and watches to the extent of a million and a half of dollars every year. We send away every year thirteen million dollars' worth of manufactures of cotton. The export of glass is increasing, and now amounts to about a million dollars' worth each year. In manufactured articles of iron and steel we are also asserting ourselves; no less than twenty-nine millions of dollars was the amount the world paid us for these in 1891. Over ten millions of dollars was for machinery, the Briton alone coming under obligation to us in that year for more than two millions of dollars' worth. We furnish many musical instruments to the world. Our organs and pianos were sent abroad to the extent of one million three hundred thousand dollars in the year 1891. American furniture is rapidly displacing home-made furniture in Britain and other countries. We send abroad every year over three million dollars' worth. Carriages and cars, in 1891, were exported to the amount of five millions of dollars. We must not forget to note the printing-presses, which we export to the extent of four hundred thousand dollars every year; sewing-machines to the extent of three millions, and locomotives to the extent of two and a half millions. Thus the Republic is beginning to show her ability to supply the world with almost everything from a locomotive to a piano.

No triumph of manufacturing in America is more complete than that of plate glass, which is also the creation of this decade. Two dollars and a half per square foot was formerly paid to the foreigner for this article, which was then a luxury. To-day it can be purchased for sixty cents a square foot, just about one-fourth of its former price, and has become an article of common use. The home supply is now abundant, and ere the next edition of Triumphant Democracy is due, ten years hence, I venture to predict that the exportation of plate glass to less favored lands will be an important item of our foreign commerce. The American product is already four times that of Great Britain.

Touching the material condition of the great mass of the people between 1880 and 1890, we may safely say that no nation ever enjoyed such universal prosperity. The producers, in agriculture and manufactures, have not made exceptional gains. Indeed, these have not been as prosperous as usual, owing to the great fall in the prices of products. But the masses of the people have never received compensation so high or purchased commodities so cheaply. Never in any country's history has so great a proportion of the products of labor and capital gone to labor and so little to capital. And this furnishes the best proof of a most satisfactory condition of affairs. It is probable that in many future decades the citizen is to look back upon this as the golden age of the Republic and long for a return of its conditions.

A general increase of wages marks the decade, these having risen in almost every branch of industry, while the cost of the necessaries of life has fallen below any recorded. In agriculture good crops have been the mov-

ing cause of the low prices of cereals, and in the manufacturing field improved methods have increased the product and thus increased the earnings of the worker.

The prosperity of the masses is best seen in their savings. Although the savings-banks of the country are only one of several channels for these—and not the most important channel of all, for it is in the purchase of homes that the savings of the American people most largely go—nevertheless the increase of savings-bank deposits during the decade is most significant. The number of savings-banks increased from 629 in 1880 to 921 in 1890.

The following table shows the increase in deposits and number of depositors during the decade, the figures given being from the official report of the Treasury Department:

YEAR.	NUMBER OF DEPOSITORS.	AMOUNT OF DEPOSITS.	AVERAGE FOR EACH DEPOSITOR.
1880	2,528,749	$891,961,142	$352.73
1890	4,297,723	1,524,844,506	354.80

The amount spent for homes and land, improvements, etc., if it could be ascertained, would no doubt show a like relative increase.

The work of the Government in improving rivers and harbors has been magnificent. Locks and dams have rendered the Kanawha River navigable. The removal of the shoals in the Cumberland and improvement in the Tennessee have given uninterrupted navigation from the far South to the Ohio. Great improvements have been made in the Mississippi, and its mouth has been deepened by means of jetties, so that large ships can now reach New Orleans.

Similar work is going forward at Galveston, Fernandina, New Brunswick, Savannah, Charleston, and other points. The Sault Ste. Marie Canal, uniting Lakes Superior and Huron, has been deepened, and the traffic through it now exceeds that passing through the Suez Canal. The movable dam built on the Ohio River below Pittsburgh has proved a complete success. Many thousands of miles of river navigation are to be secured by use of this device.

The new navy, which was begun by Secretary Chandler and continued so vigorously by Secretaries Whitney and Tracy, is also to be recorded as the child of this decade. The ships so far completed are acknowledged to be equal and in some respects superior to any now afloat. Secretary Whitney distinguished his administration of the Navy Department by establishing the most complete gun factory in the world, and Secretary Tracy's administration is to be credited with the discovery of nickel-steel for armor-plate. The country is now prepared to make everything required for the navy. Even during the early part of the last decade it was compelled to purchase much of its machinery and all of its armor abroad.

This is also the greatest decade ever known for railway building, there having been built between 1880 and 1890 almost as many miles as during the entire period from 1830 to 1880. Here are the figures: Total mileage in 1890, 163,562; miles built during the decade, 75,838. No clearer idea of the size and progress of the Republic can be obtained than by remembering that it continues to build every year about as many miles of railway as all the rest of the world. It has in completed railway lines to-day within twenty thousand miles as much as the rest of the world.

The increase in speed of railway trains has fully kept pace with the general progress. Forty miles per hour in limited trains is now the ordinary speed between great cities. The fastest train in the world is that between **New York and Buffalo, which exceeds fifty miles an hour, including stops. This train is now extended to Chicago. Twenty-hour trains are run daily between these cities. Limited trains are a feature of the decade, with their admirable dining-cars. Travel upon these is the most luxurious in the world.**

The reduction of rates of postage to two cents, and for double the weight, is a notable event, and the credit of this belongs to the decade. We also have to credit the introduction of special-delivery stamps, by which, for the payment of ten cents, a letter is delivered at once by special messenger. The use of these stamps has been so great as to surprise the authors of the idea, and has received the sincerest flattery of imitation by the British post-office, which has recently introduced the system into London.

By the action of the post-office authorities it has also been arranged that letters arriving from foreign steamers reach New York all assorted and ready for immediate despatch. This improvement is now said to be under consideration by our friends upon the other side, but so far the Republic is alone in the advance.

The introduction of steam-pipes through cities for supplying steam, both for mechanical power and heating purposes, is another of the improvements for which we have to thank the period under review.

Reference has been made to the bad cookery formerly prevalent. A decided improvement is to be noted in this

important matter. Schools have been created for the teaching of cooking, and students from the East have established themselves in the Western cities throughout the country, and a great improvement is now manifest as a result of their teaching.

We must not fail to note the triumphs of American surgery, and the great advance made in preventive medicine. In many branches the American surgeons have been the first, until now we are not surprised that in reviewing a recent text-book of American surgery the leading medical publication of Great Britain, *The Lancet*, ends with these significant words:

"If this text-book is a fair reflex of the present position of American surgery, we must admit it is of a very high order of merit, and that English surgeons will have to look very carefully to their laurels if they are to preserve a position in the van of surgical practice."

In no country was the importance of trained nurses so instantly recognized as in the United States, during the past decade. It is doubtful if there has been a more important step in advance in all the province of medicine than in properly educating suitable men and women for the office of nurse. The success of the movement throughout the United States has been phenomenal. In every city the patient has now at his call an agency for his cure only less potent than the physician. The character and attainments of the young women who have been drawn to this most useful vocation cause us to read without surprise of the marriage of several to remarkable men who have had an opportunity to become acquainted with them. One trained nurse has married one of the two American physicians who can write after his name F.R.C.S.; a

second has married a senator of the United States. It can now very truly be said that the only classes who receive the benefit of all that medicine and nursing can do for them are the pauper and the millionnaire. Here is a case in which extremes meet, and where the middle class, having neither poverty nor riches, seems to fare badly.

No record of the decade would be complete without noting the triumphs of America in the region of astronomy. Professors Barnard, Burnham, Sedgwick, Rowland, Brashear, and others have rendered the decade illustrious, and placed the Republic in the front rank.

Our country has won many other notable triumphs. The Cuvier medal of the French Academy was presented to the Geological Survey of the United States in token of its invaluable work.

The Lalande medal for astronomical discoveries was presented to Professor Barnard, of the Lick Observatory.

Mr. Richard M. Hunt, of New York, has received the Royal gold medal for architecture, a gift of the Queen, awarded by the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Professor Rowland, of Johns Hopkins University, has recently been honored by the French Academy of Sciences, which has elected him a corresponding member.

The Bessemer gold medal has been presented to Hon. Abram S. Hewitt; and as I write, the cable informs us that it has this year also fallen to America, having been awarded to John Fritz, the mechanical Nestor of the iron and steel industry.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Geographical Society this year the gold medal was given to the United States chargé d'affaires, for presentation to an American citizen, W. Woodville Rockhill, "in recognition of the

services rendered by him to geography by his travels and explorations in Western China, Koko Nor, Tsaidam, and Thibet, and his observations on the ethnology and languages of countries visited by him, and published in his book, 'The Land of the Lamas;' for the enterprise and intrepidity shown by him, and for his years of study of the native languages to prepare him for those travels."

All these are cheering evidences that the Republic is no longer compelled to rest its claims for recognition upon its vast material resources. It now challenges the older nations in the higher domain of intellectual, scientific, and artistic development.

So much for the decade just passed.

Here is the first century's record of the harvest of Democracy in the Republic:

The majority of the English-speaking race, in a world within itself, under one republican flag, at peace, and pledged by act of all parties to offer peaceful arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

The nation which contains the best educated, most intelligent, most religious, and the wealthiest and healthiest body of citizens in the world; the smallest proportion of white illiterates, paupers, criminals, blind, deaf and dumb, feeble-minded, and insane.

The nation which spends least on war and most upon education, and has the smallest army and navy in proportion to population and wealth of any maritime power; and which provides more generously than any other for every soldier or sailor injured in its service, and for their widows and orphans.

The people which to a greater extent than any other realize that surplus wealth is but a trust to be administered during life for the good of the community. Nowhere are there so many philanthropic agencies at work.

The nation whose Constitution is so perfect that no man suggests change, and whose fundamental laws as they stand are satisfactory to all.

The nation first in public credit and in payment of debt; the wealthiest nation; the greatest in agriculture, in manufacturing, in banking, and in commerce; the nation whose citizens are the most inventive and most enterprising, and by far the most prosperous in the world, and the nation in which labor commands the steadiest employment and receives the greatest reward.

The nation which is, of all English-speaking communities, most truly conservative of all that is good, and which most profoundly reverences law, and decrees its most strenuous enforcement.

The nation in which the rights of the minority, the rights of property and of freedom and validity of contract, and of free labor, are most secure.

The only truly prosperous nation in the world to-day; a nation in which every sober man, able and willing to perform useful labor, can readily find employment at wages which enable him to save a competence for old age.

The only nation of all the English-speaking race whose flag, wherever it floats over land and over sea, is the symbol and guarantor of the equality of the citizen.

The most ardent lover of the Republic must be held unreasonable who is not satisfied with and most grate-

THIRTY YE

RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1860 COMPARED WIT

ITEM.	UNIT.	AMOUNT
Aggregate of the United States	Number	31,4
Urban, places of 8,000 and upward	"	5,(
Occupations, all classes	"	8,3
Total acreage	"	407,3
Acreage of improved land	"	163,7
Agricultural people, 10 years and upward	"	4,3
Value of land, fences and buildings	Dollars	6,645,(
Value of implements and machinery	"	246,
Value of live-stock on farms	"	1,089,3
Cereal production, wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, and buckwheat	Bushels	1,239,(

CH—1860 TO 1890.

1890, AS GIVEN BY THE EIGHTH AND ELEVENTH CENSUSES.

AMOUNT, 1890.	INCREASE.	
62,622,250	99.2 per cent.	
18,284,385	Ratio, 1860, 1 to 6.2 ; 1890, 1 to 3.4 of total population.	
24,400,000	Ratio, 1860, 1 to 3.8 ; 1890, 1 to 2.6 of total population.	
815,000,000	Per capita alike in 1860 and 1890, 13 acres per capita.	Agriculture in general has increased about 100 per cent., an even increase with population.
400,000,000	From 5.2 acres per capita in 1860 to 6.4 acres in 1890.	
9,600,000	Increase 121.41 per cent.	
13,110,031,384	Increase 97.29 per cent.	
550,000,000	Increase 123.47 per cent.	
2,418,766,028	Increase 122.04 per cent.	
3,209,742,000	Per capita of total population, 1860, 39.4 ; 1890, 51.3 bushels.	
4,600,000,000	Per capita of total population, 1860, $32.12 ; 1890, $73.46.	
8,700,000,000	Per capita of total population, 1860, $59.98 ; 1890, $138.93.	
163,597	465.7 per cent. increase.	
10,278,835,746	450.5 per cent. increase.	
5,783	1,335 per cent. increase.	
889,357,289	2,520 per cent. increase.	
24,651,585,465	Per capita of total population, 1860, $384.33 ; 1890, $393.66.	
63,648,000,000	A comparison cannot be made—1860 only includes estimated true value based upon assessed property.	
845,293,828	From $10.06 per capita in 1860 to $13.50 per capita in 1890.	
629,785,917	From $8.16 per capita in 1860 to $10.06 per capita in 1890.	
151,131,297	From $1.45 per capita in 1860 to $2.41 per capita in 1890.	
64,376,614	From $0.45 per capita in 1860 to $1.03 per capita in 1890.	
1,429,251,270	From $18.85 per capita in 1860 to $22.82 per capita in 1890.	

* Report, 1890, Interstate Commission.

ful for the unequalled progress made by his country, not only in things material but in things spiritual; nor can I imagine a citizen who could unblushingly ask for more than a continuance of the bountiful harvest of blessing vouchsafed to it in her first century and during her last decade.

We leave the Republic in 1890 at the very climax of prosperity—its past marvellous; its present equally so; its future full as ever of golden promise.

Thus ends our story, and thus the curtain falls.

A LOOK AHEAD

"I venture to prophesy that the principles of a federal alliance are the only terms of peace that ever will and that ever ought to obtain between the two countries."—DAVID HARTLEY, M. P., House of Commons, May 15, 1777.

I THINK one excusable who has been compelled to live for months among figures and hard facts, and record only the past, if, his task accomplished, he indulges in a look ahead, where not what is, but what is to be, is considered, and where, being no longer bound by results achieved, he is fancy free. I have taken this privilege freely for myself in this closing chapter, and, Utopian as the dream may seem, I place on record my belief that it is one day to become a reality.

Until a little more than a hundred years ago the English-speaking race dwelt together in unity, the American being as much a citizen of Britain as the Englishman, Scotsman, Welshman, or Irishman. A difference unhappily arose under the British Constitution—their common heritage—as to the right of the citizens of the older part of the State to tax their fellows in the newer part across the sea without their consent; but separation was not contemplated by Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Jay, and other leaders. On the contrary, these great men never ceased to proclaim their loyalty to, and their desire to remain part of, Britain, and they disclaimed any idea of separation, which was indeed accepted at last, but only when forced upon them as a sad necessity, from

which there was no honorable escape if they were to maintain the rights they had acquired, not as American but as British citizens.

On the other hand, the motherland, which forced the issue upon her loyal citizens in America, sees nothing more clearly to-day than that she was in error, and that she converted a constitutional agitation for redress of grievances into a question of patriotic resistance to the exercise of unconstitutional power, an issue which Britons have never been slow to accept, and have never failed successfully to meet. There is no British statesman who does not feel that if the Britons in America had not resisted taxation imposed without their consent, and fought out the issue to the end, they would have been false to the blood in their veins.

I desire to give my readers in the old land and in the new some idea of the position of the two parties after the difference between them arose.

The following quotations from the credentials presented by the delegates from several of the American provinces to the first Continental Congress, organized September 5, 1774, show the spirit which then prevailed:

Delegates from the province of New Hampshire were instructed—

"To secure and to perpetuate their (the colonies') rights, liberties, and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony, and mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her colonies."

Those of the province of Massachusetts Bay, Samuel and John Adams among them, were charged to seek—

"The restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men."

The great province of Pennsylvania sent delegates for conference—

"And for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both."

Virginia wished its delegates, among whom were Washington, Randolph, and Lee—

"To secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union, so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America."

We quote now from addresses and petitions adopted by the Continental Congress.

From an address to the people of Great Britain, approved October 21, 1774, and written, according to Jefferson, by John Jay:

"We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, much public spirit, in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness."

From the petition of the Congress to the King:

"We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain."

On Monday, June 12, 1775, the second Continental

Congress passed a resolution for a fast, the battles of Lexington and Concord having just taken place, seeking aid—

"To avert those desolating judgments, with which we are threatened, and to bless our rightful sovereign, King George III."

From the declaration of Congress, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, adopted July 6, 1775, a few weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill:

"Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory or for conquest."

From the petition to the King, dated July 8, 1775, signed by the members of the Congress present:

"Attached to your Majesty's person, family, and government with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries."

From an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, also adopted by the Congress, July 8th:

"We are accused of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by

our actions. . . . Yet give us leave most solemnly to assure you that we have not yet lost sight of the object we have ever had in view, a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles, and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we till lately maintained."

Thomas Jefferson wrote:

". . . I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation.

"Believe me, dear sir, there is not in the British Empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do."

Benjamin Franklin testified before the Committee of the House of Commons:

"They (the colonists) consider themselves as a part of the British Empire, and as having one common interest with it; they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honor and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it as far as their little power goes."—From the "Life of Franklin," by John Bigelow. Lippincott. Vol. i. p. 495.

On July 13, 1774, Jay was appointed a member of a committee of New York citizens to draw up resolutions on the non-importation policy. This committee reported:

"That it is our greatest happiness and glory to have been born British subjects, and that we wish nothing more ardently than to live and die as such; . . . the Act for blocking up the port of Boston is . . . subversive of every idea of *British liberty*"; and that it should be left to the proposed Congress to determine the question of non-importation, which would be justified only by "dire necessity."—"John Jay," by George Pellew, pp. 31 and 32.

While the British-Americans were thus proclaiming their love, affection, and loyalty for the parent land, and

pleading for British rights and the Union, we turn to those in Britain who are now regarded as the greatest and wisest statesmen of that time. Hear the words of Pitt:

"It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. . . . When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms."—From a speech by William Pitt, afterward Lord Chatham, in the House of Commons, January 16, 1776.

Let us hear Burke:

"No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave.

. . . . . .

"Again and again revert to your own principles—seek peace and ensue it—leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax her-

self. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, not attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions ; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They and we, and they and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished forever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade ; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes ; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools ; for there only they may be discussed with safety."—From a speech on American Taxation, delivered in the House of Commons, April 19, 1774.

Horace Walpole said:

"You will not be surprised that I am what I always was, a zealot for liberty in every part of the globe, and consequently that I most heartily wish success to the Americans. They have hitherto not made one blunder ; and the Administration have made a thousand, besides the two capital ones of first provoking and then of uniting the colonies. The latter seem to have as good heads and hearts as we want both."—From a letter to Horace Mann, dated September 7, 1775 ; from "Horace Walpole and his World," Scribner's, p. 152.

In a letter dated February 17, 1779, he says:

"Liberty has still a continent (America) to exist in. I do not care a straw who is minister in this abandoned country. It is the *good old cause of freedom* that I have at heart."

Isaac Barré, Member of Parliament, 1761 to 1790, said, in reply to Lord North's declaration that he would never think of repealing the tea duty until he saw America prostrate at his feet:

"To effect this is not so easy as some imagine ; the Americans

are a numerous, a respectable, a hardy, a free people. But were it ever so easy, does any friend to his country really wish to see America thus humbled? In such a situation, she would serve only as a monument of your arrogance and your folly. For my part, the America I wish to see is America increasing and prosperous, raising her head in graceful dignity, with freedom and firmness asserting her rights at your bar, vindicating her liberties, pleading her services, and conscious of her merit. This is the America that will have spirit to fight your battles, to sustain you when hard pushed by some prevailing foe, and by her industry will be able to consume your manufactures, support your trade, and pour wealth and splendor into your towns and cities. If we do not change our conduct towards her, America will be torn from our side. . . . Unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America."

David Hartley, Member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, in a speech in the House, May 15, 1777, concluded with these prophetic words:

". . . I venture to prophesy that the principles of a federal alliance are the only terms of peace that ever will and that ever ought to obtain between the two countries."

On November 2, 1775, Mr. Hartley concluded another speech with these words:

"Let the only contention henceforward between Great Britain and America be, which shall exceed the other in zeal for establishing the fundamental rights of liberty for all mankind."

Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1774, made a speech intended to have been spoken on the bill for altering the charters of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay:

"Let them continue to enjoy the liberty our fathers gave them! Gave them, did I say? They are co-heirs of liberty with ourselves; and their portion of the inheritance has been much better looked

after than ours. My Lords, I look upon North America as the only great nursery of freemen now left upon the face of the earth. But whatever may be our future fate, the greatest glory that attends this country, a greater than any other nation ever acquired, is to have formed and nursed up to such a state of happiness those colonies whom we are now so eager to butcher."

Briton and American being now fully agreed that those who made the attempt to tax the colonists without their consent were wrong, and that in resisting this the colonists vindicated their rights as British citizens, and therefore only did their duty, the question arises, Is a separation thus forced upon one of the parties, and now thus deeply regretted by the other, to be permanent?

I cannot think so, and I crave permission to adduce some considerations in support of my belief that the future is certainly to see a reunion of the separated parts and once again a common citizenship.

First.—In race—and there is a great deal in race—the American remains three-fourths purely British. The mixture of the German, which constitutes substantially all of the remainder, though not strictly British, is yet Germanic. The Briton of to-day is himself composed in large measure of the Germanic element, and German, Briton, and American are all of the Teutonic race.

The amount of blood other than Anglo-Saxon and Germanic which has entered into the American is almost too trifling to deserve notice, and has been absorbed without changing him in any fundamental trait. The American remains British, differing less from the Briton than the Irishman, Scotsman, Welshman, and Englishman differ from each other. Englishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen are all Britons, and the American (a term which

of course includes the Canadian) entering among these would be as near the common type resulting from a union of the five as any of the other parts. Indeed, the American in many respects resembles the Scotsman more than the Englishman does, and he also in other respects resembles the Englishman more than does the Scot. He resembles both Englishman and Scot much more than the Irishman resembles either. His introduction into a common British-American citizenship would not produce a resultant differing greatly from that of the present union of Scot, Welshman, Irishman, and Englishman. The action of a congress elected by all these elements would not differ much upon fundamental questions affecting the rights, liberties, and privileges of the people, from a Congress of Americans sitting in Washington, or of Canadians in Ottawa, or from the action of a British Parliament similarly elected sitting in London. No citizen of any of the present States, either British or American, would have reason to fear the loss of anything which he now holds dear. He could rest securely in the belief that his fellows of the other States could be trusted so to act that the united mass would not oscillate.

A feeling of confidence in each other among the respective communities of the race in Great Britain and America may be expected to grow, as political institutions continue to assimilate.

It is to be noted that only in the region of political ideas is there dissimilarity, for no rupture whatever between the parts has ever taken place in language, literature, religion, or law. In these, uniformity has always existed; although separated politically, the unity of the parts has never been disturbed in these strong cohesive

and cementing links. The books and periodicals read upon both sides of the Atlantic are rapidly becoming the same. The decision of one court is good law in all. Language remains uniform, every approved change in one part of the great realm being rapidly adopted throughout the English-speaking world. Religious ideas are the common property of the race. There seems nothing, therefore, to keep the sections of the race apart, but everything to reunite them.

Second.—No one questions that if, instead of eighteen hundred miles of water between America and Britain, there lay another Mississippi Valley, the English-speaking race would be one politically, since the federal system of government has proved that immense areas can be successfully governed under one head, and can exist as one power, the freest government of the parts producing the strongest government of the whole. The difference of land and water lying between people has hitherto been great, and, in the words of the poet, instead of mountains, we can say that—

> "Oceans interposed
> Make enemies of nations, who had else,
> Like kindred drops, been mingled into one."

This is quite true of the past; but oceans no longer constitute barriers between nations. These already furnish the cheapest of all modes of communication between men. It has been my good fortune recently to travel from the Pacific coast to Britain. The journey from San Francisco to New York was made in a moving hotel, in which our party had travelled for six weeks with every want supplied. The time necessary for the trip is five days. The other half of the journey, after a short rest at

the half-way house, New York, was performed in one of the best ocean greyhounds, the time consumed from land to land being only a few hours more than that required for the journey from San Francisco to New York. Over land and over sea we had travelled under the best conditions of to-day. No luxury was wanting. The moving hotel over the land was the best of its kind, as was also the moving hotel over the water. The ocean voyage was in every respect more comfortable and by far less fatiguing than the overland journey.

The future is, probably, to render travel by sea, if not quite as fast, yet more comfortable to people in general than land travel can possibly be made. The delegate to a conference at Washington, leaving Liverpool or Southampton, now reaches that city in just about the same time as the delegate from San Francisco, Seattle, or Victoria on the Pacific coast. At the time England and Scotland were united, members of Parliament from the north of Scotland required as long to reach London. A short time ago many of the American representatives to Congress consumed more time in reaching Washington than either of these. The time required is being lessened every year. The next few months are to see both the ocean and the land journey materially reduced.

Third.—The telegraph connecting London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cardiff, New Orleans, San Francisco, New York, Washington, Montreal, Quebec, and Ottawa, bringing all into instantaneous communication, is the most important factor in rendering political reunion possible, and I venture to say inevitable. Without this agency it might well be doubted whether one central authority could act for all the scattered parts; but when events and problems as they

arise, and the discussions upon them at the centre, can be instantly known at the extremities, and become everywhere the subject of contemporaneous debate and consideration, thus permitting the centre to influence the extremities and the extremities to respond to the centre, the pulse-beat of the entire nation can be constantly felt by the government and all the people. No matter where the capital may be, it must still be omnipresent and in touch with all parts of the confederacy. Time is therefore no longer to be taken into account at all, and distance means but little when all can instantly hear everything that transpires.

Fourth.—The advantages of a race confederation are so numerous and so obvious that one scarcely knows how to begin their enumeration. Consider its defensive power. A reunion of the Anglo-Americans, consisting to-day of one hundred and eight millions, which fifty years hence will number more than two hundred millions, would be unassailable upon land by any power or combination of powers that it is possible to create. We need not, therefore, take into account attacks upon the land; as for the water, the combined fleets would sweep the seas. The new nation would dominate the world and banish from the earth its greatest stain—the murder of men by men. It would be the arbiter between nations, and enforce the peaceful settlement of all quarrels, saying to any disputants who threatened to draw the sword:

> "Hold! I command you both;
> The one that stirs makes me his foe.
> Unfold to me the cause of quarrel,
> And I will judge betwixt you."

Such a giant among pygmies as the British-American

Union would never need to exert its power, but only to intimate its wishes and decisions. It would be unnecessary for any power to maintain either a great standing army or a great navy. The smaller nations, having discovered that they would not be permitted to disturb the peace of the world, would naturally disarm. There would be no use in maintaining large forces either for attack or defence when the British-American had determined that no one should attack. I believe that the wisdom of the reunited nation and its regard for others would be so great as to give it such moral ascendency that there would be no disposition upon the part of any power to appeal from its decisions. All would acquire the habit of settling disputes by an appeal to this supreme tribunal, the friend of all, the enemy of none, without thought of ever going beyond its decrees.

Fifth.—There are higher though perhaps not more powerful considerations than the material benefits involved in reunion. Regarding these I should like Britons to consider what the proposed reunion means. Not the most sanguine advocate of "Imperial Federation" dares to intimate that the federation he dreams of would free the markets of all its members to each other. This question cannot even be discussed when Imperial Conferences meet. If it be introduced it is judiciously shelved. But a British-American reunion brings free entry here of all British products as a matter of course. The richest market in the world is opened to Britain free of all duty by a stroke of the pen. No tax can be laid upon products of any part of the Union even for revenue, although under "free trade" such taxes might still exist. What would not trade with the Republic

"duty free" mean to the linen, woollen, iron, and steel industries of Scotland; to the tin-plate manufacturers of Wales; to the woollen and cotton, coal, iron, cutlery, and steel industries of England? It would mean prosperity to every industry in the United Kingdom, and this in turn would mean renewed prosperity to the agricultural interest, now so sorely depressed.

Few except those engaged in manufacturing realise the position of Britain as a manufacturer in regard to the American market. The ocean, which many are still apt to consider a barrier between the two countries, is the very agency which brings them so close and will ultimately bind them together. Coal, iron, steel, and all kinds of merchandise from Britain reach American ports more cheaply than American manufactures produced within a hundred miles of these ports. Thus the coal, iron, and steel from Glasgow, Hull, Newcastle, or Liverpool, reach the cities of New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Portland more cheaply than the same articles mined or manufactured in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, or Alabama; the land carriage from these States being far greater than the ocean carriage from Great Britain. To the whole Pacific coast Britain is so much nearer in cost as to give her under reunion the complete command of that market. In the event of reunion the American manufacturers would supply the interior of the country, but the great populations skirting the Atlantic seaboard and the Pacific coast would receive their manufactured articles chiefly from Britain. The heavy products are taken from Britain to the United States in many instances as ballast for nothing. The freight charge is

generally trifling. I do not hesitate to say that reunion would bring with it such demand for British products as would tax the present capacity of Britain to the utmost, for the products of Continental nations, which now compete so seriously with Britain, would be almost excluded even by a tariff strictly for revenue. There would not be an idle mine, furnace, or factory in the land. The consumption of coal in the United States is already greater than in Britain; of iron and steel it is now fully double. Our consumption of tin plate exceeds that of all the rest of the world. The imports of British textile fabrics grow year after year. These never were so great as at present. The only nation which is taking more and more of British products is the Republic. The American market is enormous and constantly expanding. It is in vain that people in Britain hope for any radical change in the tariff laws. No party in the United States can or will make many material changes in these. Revenue will continue to be raised by duties upon imports as at present, and chiefly upon the fine textile fabrics—the luxuries of the rich. There can be little question that nothing would so certainly ensure the permanent prosperity of Britain as free access to the American market, which can be effected so easily through reunion, which would also bring with it enhanced value to land as the result of prosperity in all branches of British trade and industry; and were Britain and America again one, the American would find the former the best summer home within his reach. Many would purchase such homes there, and secure for themselves the delights of a beneficial change of climate, and contact with a thousand sources of sweet influences only to be gained in the old home of the race.

The prophecy of the *Spectator*, made many years ago, and just repeated, would be fully realized, that the British-American would find the old home his "restful park." It is not going too far to say that every kind of property in the sceptred isle and every business interest would be permanently doubled in value by reunion.

I do not shut my eyes to the fact that reunion, bringing free entrance of British products, would cause serious disturbance to many manufacturing interests near the Atlantic coast, which have been built up under the protective system. But, sensitive as the American is said to be to the influence of the dollar, there is a chord in his nature—the patriotic—which is much more sensitive still. Judging from my knowledge of the American manufacturers, there are few who would not gladly make the necessary pecuniary sacrifices to bring about a reunion of the old home and the new. There would be some opposition, of course, from those pecuniarily interested, but this would be silenced by the chorus of approval from the people in general. No private interests, or interests of a class, or of a section of what would then be our common country, would or should be allowed to obstruct a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

If the question be judged in Britain by the material benefits certain to flow from it, never in all her history was such enormous material gain within her reach, and never as much as now has the future position of Britain so urgently required just such an assurance of continued prosperity. The development of manufactures in other lands seriously menaces her future. She has already lost much in cotton manufacture, which I fear is never to be regained. The product of iron has fallen from nearly

nine to less than seven millions of tons. We see decreases written too often in her trade statistics, which might be charged to the ebb and flow of industrial affairs were they not accompanied by startling increases in like branches in competing nations.

Her position is the most artificial of all nations: islands that cannot grow half enough of food to feed her people, but which produce double the amount of manufactured articles they can consume. Such a nation, in order to be secure of her future, must have a market for these surplus articles, and more land from which to draw food for her people. This is precisely what reunion offers—the most valuable and the most rapidly increasing market in the world for her manufactures, and the richest soil for the production of the food she requires. Reunion restores her to ownership in hundreds of millions of acres of fresh, fertile soil, the like of which is elsewhere unknown, and reopens a market for her manufactures sufficient even to-day to absorb all her surplus.

Reunion will further benefit the United Kingdom in regard to debt and taxation, potent factors in the industrial race of nations. The national debt *per capita* of the United States amounts to $14, that of Britain to $88, that of Canada to $48. The percentage of taxation in the United States, national, State, and local, to earnings, was 5.04 last decade; in the United Kingdon, 9.03—nearly double. When the union is restored it will be upon the basis of uniting also the national debts as they stand, and making all a common obligation of the union, so that the United Kingdom would be relieved at once of the greater portion of its national debt, and of at least one-half of all its present heavy taxation, even if no

reduction of expenditure resulted from having one general government, one army and navy instead of two. About one-fourth of all national taxation in recent years in the Republic has gone in payment of debt, and a much greater proportion recently for pensions, both of which are temporary, so that the current expenses of the general government will after a time not require more than one-half the present amount of taxation.

The only course for Britain seems to be reunion with her giant child, or sure decline to a secondary place, and then to comparative insignificance in the future annals of the English-speaking race, which is to increase so rapidly in America. Heaven forbid that she who has been and yet is so great, and still so deeply reverenced, should unwisely choose continued separation and tread a by-path apart leading to an inglorious career. Let her statesmen study the situation, therefore, and learn that reunion with her American children is the only sure way to prevent continued decline. Reunited with these, Britain takes a new lease of prosperity; decline is arrested and increase begins.

Sixth.—The influence upon the individual citizen of power in the state, and especially of power used for great and good ends, is immeasurable. The conquering Briton has conquered more and more easily as he has had behind him more and more of a record of achievements of his race. "I am a Roman citizen" was a boast which made him who uttered it not only a greater Roman but a greater man. To develop heroes there must be occasions for heroism. To develop statesmen the state must have a great part to play in the world. Had the Republic remained a mere colony, it would never have discovered

its Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, and Hancock. And what would the world have known of Washington? What part could he have ever played to make him Washington? What would the world have known of that genius Lincoln, the greatest statesman of the century, or of many centuries, had he not been called upon to preserve the Republic, and with a stroke of the pen to make four million slaves freemen? In like manner Hampden, Pym, Eliot, and Cromwell would have remained comparatively obscure men but for the part which it was possible for them to play upon so large a stage as Britain. What the British boy grows to be as a citizen, largely depends upon how he is fashioned by knowing and dwelling upon the history of his country's triumphs and of its leaders in the past. What would the American boy become as a citizen if he had not his Washington and other Revolutionary heroes to inspire him, and cause the blood to tingle in his veins as he reads the story of his country's struggle for independence? What kind of a man would the Scotsman be if bereft of the glorious history of his country and its sacrifices for the cause of civil and religious liberty? He is fed upon, and becomes part of, Wallace, Knox, and Burns. Every state should aim to be great and powerful, and noble in the exercise of its power, because power in the state, nobly exercised, is the strongest influence in producing good and patriotic citizens. Every citizen, being a constituent part of the state under democracy, partakes in some measure of its greatness. A small and petty political unity tends to breed small and petty men of all classes; dealing with great affairs broadens and elevates the character. All these and many other considerations plead for reunion.

Let us now consider the position and feelings of the various parts of the English-speaking world toward reunion, beginning with Canada. Canada would undoubtedly favor reunion. She would gladly reënter a race-federation of which Britain and the United States were again the other members. All objection would be removed if union with the Republic no longer involved separation from the motherland. Every interest in Canada would bound into undreamed-of prosperity, the moment reunion came to pass. Every dollar of property would be worth two. But far more important than this, the Canadian, no longer a subordinate colonist, would then have a country of his own to worship, the greatest country ever known, of which he would be a citizen, the equal of others. And not only so, but then he would be more of a man than he can possibly be as a colonist. Consequently, it may be said of Canada, "She is ready."

Touching the United States, we find the American Union constantly adding States. The original thirteen have now swollen to forty-four. Other States, now in process of formation, will soon raise the number to fifty. So quietly are these admissions made that the nation is scarcely aware of them. A convention of the people of a Territory decides to ask admission to the Union as a State; Congress passes a bill of a few lines, which the President signs, admitting the new member. Elections are held in the new State for governor, members of a State legislature, and officers of the State, and also for representatives and senators. The latter make their appearance in Washington, present their credentials, take the oath and their seats in the national councils. There is nothing

more to be done. The State attends to all its internal affairs, and the general government attends to all general matters. The American people are favorable to the extension of national boundaries. No evil, but great good, has come from every succeeding addition to their Union. Therefore, a proposition to reunite Britain and the Republic would not seem anything novel to them. They are used to territorial extension.

The reunion idea would be hailed with enthusiasm. No idea yet promulgated since the formation of the Union would create such unalloyed satisfaction. It would sweep the country. No party would oppose, each would try to excel the other in approval. Therefore, as of Canada, so of the Republic we can say, "She is ready."

Here we have two members out of the three secured. As far as these are concerned, the question might be raised to-morrow. It is only when we approach the old home that we are compelled to recognize that it is not yet ripe for reunion. But this cannot be said even of all of its members. In one of the islands a proposal to become part of the great British-American nation would be hailed with delight. We can safely say of Ireland, "She is ready."

The position of Scotland in the United Kingdom is that of a small state overshadowed by a great one. She is dissatisfied, and is to-day demanding power to govern herself after her own ideas. Her position as a state among the proposed states of the great reunion would be more desirable, and infinitely more exalted and more independent in every respect, than her present position as a state in the small Union of England, Ireland, and Wales. And not one particle would she be less distinctively Scot-

land than she is Scotland to-day. Indeed, she would be more Scotland than she is now Scotland, because the rights which a state in the reunion would hold are the rights of sovereignty. She would be supreme within her borders, with a national parliament, and full control over her land, her church, her education, and all her national institutions. She would only surrender to a general parliament control of certain stated affairs of an international character. After a short campaign of explanation throughout my native land, I am confident we should be able to say of Scotland, "She is ready"; and what Scotland requires is all that Wales requires, when of her we could also say, "She is ready." Her status would also be raised, not depressed, by reëntering the greater Union. Scotland would be more Scotland, Ireland more Ireland, Wales more Wales, than they are at present. What great difference would it make to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland if their representatives to the Supreme Council should proceed to Washington instead of to London? Yet this is all the change that would be required, and for this they would have ensured to them all the rights of independent states, and free access to the only market which can make and keep them prosperous.

The sole remaining member is England, and we confess that much has to be accomplished in the way of change before she can be induced to again accept the headship of the race as the oldest and most revered member in a great reunion, which, however, she could not expect to dominate as she now dominates the present union of the three small states, containing less than one-third of her own population, which constitute with her the United Kingdom. But the greater Union would be one in

which, although she should not be all-powerful, yet she would undoubtedly be first, and regarded with all the deference due to age and motherhood.

At first glance, the Briton who considers this question may feel that the proposed reunion would involve the giving up of his separate nationality, with its unequalled history, its triumphs, and all that makes the sceptred isle the object of his love and admiration. There is nothing whatever in this. Not a line of the long scroll would be dimmed, not a word erased. The past cannot be obscured, and the future, under the proposed reunion with the other branches of her own race, may be trusted to be grander than the past, as the power and career of the reunited nation must be greater than that of any of its branches. Officials may be expected to denounce the idea of reunion, fearing that their positions under the new *régime* would be not less dignified, but less likely to be theirs. But the people of Britain have no cause to fear that anything would be taken from them, and every reason to see that much would be added. We observe in the history of the world that patriotism is ever expansive. Centuries ago the people of Perugia and Assisi, fifteen miles apart, were deadly enemies, attacked each other, and played at making war and treaties. Even St. Francis was wounded in one of these campaigns. The patriotism of the Perugian and the Assisian could not embrace an area so great as fifteen miles. To-day patriotism stretches over hundreds of miles—in some cases thousands of miles—and does not lose but gain in intensity as it covers a wider area. There is more to be patriotic about. The patriotism of to-day, which melts when pushed beyond the shores of the island of Britain, may safely be trusted to

partake in the near future of the expansive quality. It will soon grow and cover the doings of the race wherever situated, beyond the bounds of the old home. Professor Freeman, under the influence of this wider and nobler patriotism, has already been compelled to declare:

> "He is no Englishman at heart, he has no true feeling of the abiding tie of kindred, who deems that the glory and greatness of the child (Republic) is other than part of the glory and greatness of the parent."

National patriotism or pride cannot, therefore, prove a serious obstacle in the way of reunion.

It is to be carefully pondered, that, had separation never occurred, it would long since have been necessary for the larger part of the population to be represented in the general Parliament. It is not conceivable that seventy millions of citizens upon one side of the Atlantic would consent to be governed by thirty-eight on the other. If they were so, they would prove themselves most undesirable members of any union. Free-born Britons should have no union with such people. It is because they are British and masterful, and will have equality with other Britons, that it is desirable or even safe to unite with them. Long ere this, therefore, the representatives of seventy millions would be greater in number than the representatives of thirty-eight millions; and consequently the condition of England, or even Britain, in this Greater Britain could not have been that of one member overshadowing all the rest. When reunion takes place no one State can have such power. England would be more powerful than any six of the numerous States; but she would not be more powerful than all combined—nor is

it desirable that any one member should be so. If Britain were to stand for this it would be equivalent to saying that even if the American colonies had not seceded, she herself would have seceded from them under the policy of rule or ruin and of refusal to consider her fellow-citizens as political equals.

Numerous as would be the states comprising the reunited nation, each possessing equal rights, still Britain, as the home of the race, would ever retain precedence—first among equals. However great the number of the children who might sit around her in council, there could never be but one mother, and that mother, Britain.

To resolve to enter no federation of the race in which Britain's vote would not outweigh all the others combined would be to assign to Britain a petty future indeed, since the race cannot increase much in the United Kingdom, and is certain to be soon numbered by hundreds of millions in America. "Think what we lost when we lost you," said a Briton recently to an American. "Ah!" replied the American, "but just think what we lost." "What did you lose?" "Britain," was the reply. This was true; the loss was mutual—as the gain from reunion will be mutual. Each in losing itself will regain the other.

The impediments to reunion may here be mentioned and considered; and let no man imagine that I write as a partisan in dealing with these questions. I know no party in this great argument, either in America or in Britain. Whatever obstructs reunion I oppose; whatever promotes reunion I favor. I judge all political questions from this standpoint. All party divisions sink into nothingness in my thoughts compared with the reunion of our race.

First among these impediments, then, is the great colonial empire, upon which Britain justly dwells with pride. The colonial, however, is a mere temporary stage in the development of nations. All colonies which prosper and grow ultimately develop into independent states. These always have done so, and they always will. It is certain that Australasia will have a new confederation if she fulfils the expectations of many as to her future growth. If, however, she does not increase in the future faster than she has been doing for some time, she will no doubt long remain as at present under the protectorate of the old land. There would be no objection to her remaining under the protection of the reunion. The numerous small settlements and dependencies could in like manner also remain. There is, therefore, no valid obstacle in the colonial feature.

India, with its grave responsibilities, remains. No branch of the race now clear of any share in these would willingly consent to become a partner in them. India, called the "brightest jewel in the crown," may be "red" again some day. My experience in India, travelling as an American, gave me an insight into the forces and aspirations of its people which the citizen of the conquering nation is never permitted to obtain. The wisest and most cautious statesmanship alone can lead in peace the two hundred and eighty millions of India to self-government; and much has been done by the education of the people to render the bestowal of self-government upon them inevitable. British occupation of that vast country is necessarily temporary. Britain will ere long be relieved from its dangerous position there. The right of self-government will be granted to the people, who will be

ready upon short notice to establish themselves as an independent power. There is really no longer any decided advantage to the parent land in colonies, or in dependencies like India, since there has been conferred upon these freedom of trade with all nations and the right to tax imports, even from the parent land. Britain retains the trade of these regions because she can best supply their wants, and this she could do just as completely were they independent. Trade pays no attention to flags; it follows the lowest price current. India, therefore, can soon be placed upon the road to independence, and the British-American Union would guide it to this as well as the present Union of the United Kingdom.

The position of Britain in regard to European questions, which might alarm America, is rapidly changing. The doctrine of non-intervention is strong enough, even to-day, to give her practical immunity from participation in European wars. Were Britain part of the re-United States, all that she would be interested about in Europe would be fully secured; namely, the protection of her own soil and the command of the seas. No balance of power, no occupation of Egypt, or any similar question would be of the slightest importance. The reunited nation would be prompt to repel any assault upon the soil or the rights of any of its parts.

The monarchical form of government is admittedly a cause of disunion, but this form is not eterne. Scarcely a session of Parliament passes which does not in some department bring about an assimilation of political institutions to those of Canada and the United States. It is recognized by all that Britain is no longer a government of the few, but has really become in substance a democ-

racy. A house of hereditary legislators is of all present institutions probably destined to have the shortest life in Britain. The House of Lords is not effective as a legislative chamber, even to-day. With its abolition or reform the question of maintaining an hereditary head of the state will follow. The opinion is often expressed in Britain, that the Prince of Wales is probably to be the last official sitting by hereditary right. It is said that this opinion has been expressed by the Prince himself. From what wise friends who know the Prince tell me, I am persuaded that he is the last man in the world to stand in the way of healing a separation which he so constantly deplores; and unless the estimate formed by all of the patriotism, virtues, and character of her Majesty herself be strangely awry, she would give up much beyond her crown to be the peacemaker who brought reunion to her race. Strange almost beyond explanation is the fact that this woman, from one point of view bereft of political power, a mere instrument in the hands of her elected ministers, nevertheless is in this omnipotent. She is the only one who could by a sublime act reunite the separated branches of her race. Never in the history of the world has it been in the power of any human being to perform so great an act, or to secure so commanding a place among "the immortal few who were not born to die." All the saints in the calendar would give place to St. Victoria, were Providence to favor her by calling her to perform a mission so fraught with blessing to her people and to the world. There would be but two names set apart forever in the annals of the English-speaking race —names farther beyond all other names than any name now known to man is beyond that of all his fellows—

Victoria and Washington: patron saints of our race; he, the conqueror, who manlike drew the sword in righteous quarrel; she, womanlike, the angel of peace and reconciliation; each adding lustre to the other, and equal in power and glory.

For such a mission and such a destiny, even Queen Victoria on bended knee might pray.

In England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales a proposition to make all officials elective by the people after Victoria passes away (which God grant may be long, is the prayer of every American) would command a heavy vote. It is thought by many that the majority for the abolition of hereditary legislators would be great indeed in all the members of the United Kingdom. Before the question of reunion is ripe for settlement in England, there will remain no trace of hereditary privilege. As the *Scotsman* newspaper some years ago so well said: "Democracy means, and rightly means, that privilege shall cease."

There remains the question of the Established Church, which at present would create an insuperable obstacle to reunion; but it has already been abolished in one of the members of the United Kingdom, and is about to be abolished in another; and it is only a question of a few years ere it be also abolished in Scotland.

This leaves us again with only England as the obstructive member to reunion; but as with the House of Lords, the colonial system, and the monarchy, so with the Established Church, even in England. What has been adopted in three members of the United Kingdom will finally be adopted in the fourth. The tendency of the age is fatal to making any sect the

favorite of the state. Equal protection to all, favor to none, is the doctrine in regard to religious bodies. The question of an Established Church in the one member, England, therefore, will not exist to prevent reunion.

We might from one point of view consider the idea of "Imperial Federation" an obstacle to reunion; but it is really a help, for the discussion of that question can only pave the way for the acceptance of the only desirable federation. It needs only to be pointed out to Britain, that, granted Imperial Federation acquired, she would obtain little or no extension of markets, and could then only hope to be a member of a union which comprised a very small portion of the race. The growth of the English-speaking race during the last ten years is ominous when considered in its bearing upon the Imperial Federation idea. In 1880 a federation of England and her colonies would have contained 42,308,843 people. The population of the Republic at that time was 50,155,783. Contrast now these figures with those of 1890. Imperial Federation would have embraced in 1890, 46,437,974. The population of the Republic was then 62,622,250. Thus in ten short years the American Republic has added twelve and a half millions to its population; the members of the proposed "Imperial Federation," only four and a quarter millions. The United Kingdom increased only 2,638,000; Canada only 508,000; Australasia—Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, New Zealand, Tasmania, etc., combined—only 1,024,193; sundry small settlements the remainder. It is possible that succeeding decades may show slightly different percentages of increase, but we may reasonably look for practically the same ratio of growth.

Let it be assumed that the two branches increase in the same proportion as for the last ten years, and

1900 will show:—	Imperial Federation . .	50,600,000
	The Republic . . .	78,100,000
1910 will show:—	Imperial Federation . .	55,600,000
	The Republic . . .	97,600,000
1920 will show:—	Imperial Federation . .	61,100,000
	The Republic . . .	122,000,000
1930 will show:—	Imperial Federation . .	67,200,000
	The Republic . . .	152,500,000
1940 will show:—	Imperial Federation . .	73,900,000
	The Republic . . .	190,600,000

This will be the result only fifty years hence, when men now in manhood will still be living.

If the estimate be carried forward for fifty years more, making the complete century, the figures will stand:

Imperial Federation	119,000,000
The Republic	581,000,000

We have considered here the two parts—Republic and Empire—as two solid bodies; the increase of the Republic, 1880 to 1890, having been 24.87 per cent., the Empire's average increase 10 per cent. The United Kingdom's increase—8.17—has been of course less than the average; Canada's increase, 11 per cent., just one per cent. above the average; and Australasia's percentage of increase much higher, 39 per cent. It is not probable that any of the parts in either Empire or Republic will maintain the past rate of increase; especially is it considered improbable by experts that the United Kingdom can increase much, since other countries are becoming better able to supply their own wants. Australasia has only added one million in

ten years, and this chiefly in the first years of the decade. Her future, as the home of a great population, is not yet considered quite clear. Canada, under present conditions, is not likely to do more than maintain her slow rate of increase. The Republic seems likely to more nearly keep up its present rate of increase than the others, so that it is quite safe to assume that at least the relative difference between Imperial Federation and the United States, here indicated, will be maintained.

If Britain, America, and Canada were to reunite to-day, the population of the reunion would be one hundred and eight millions. All the other parts of the English-speaking race would not number five millions. It is into such a complete race reunion of her people that the door is now wide open for the parent land to enter and take first place—first among equals. In view of this high destiny—hers for the asking—who is he among her citizens who can sit down and deliberately plan for his country such a future as these figures prove would be hers under Imperial Federation? I cannot understand how any true Briton can so far forget what is due to the motherland; no patriot surely can or will longer connect himself with a movement which has for its aim so miserable an end. If the Imperial Federationist be willing to unite with a few millions of people at the Antipodes, who will not even entertain the idea of imports under free trade, much less "duty free," what objection can he raise to reunion with the main body of our race, only five days' sail from his shores, who offer not free trade only, which allows taxes upon imports for revenue, but entrance of everything duty free? I confidently appeal to the sterling patriotism which animates the Impe-

rial Federationists, and inspires them with ardent wishes for the future of their land, to discard the narrow idea which tends to defeat their dearest hope. I beseech them to come with us who seek the reunion of all.

In the affairs of nations as well as in those of individuals there is a tide which not taken at the flood swings the ship of state from the main channel into the shoals and eddies where future progress is impossible.

It may confidently be expected, there will arise in Britain a strong public sentiment protesting against the effort of some to relegate her to a subordinate *rôle* through an Imperial Federation which fails to federate the mass of the race.

From a review of the present position of the question we find that even to-day we can say Canada, the United States, and Ireland are ready for reunion; that Scotland presents no great difficulty; neither does Wales; and both have everything to gain and nothing to lose by reunion; and that the causes of continued disunion which admittedly exist in England are rapidly vanishing and are all melting away like snow in the sunshine; the colonial empire, the Indian question, European entanglements, present no insuperable obstacle, and hereditary privilege and a national church are doomed. The present generation is to find several of these obstructions abolished; the succeeding generation probably is to find no trace of any of them.

The ground thus cleared in the only member in which it is now cumbered, there is presented to us the spectacle of three branches of the race, Britain, Canada, and America, formerly united, and now enjoying similar institutions but remaining disunited. We seek in vain for any reason

why the old quarrel should not be healed, why those separated by a difference which no longer exists should not let the dead past bury its dead, and once more unite as parts of one great whole, just as the two parts of the Republic, plunged into civil war by the question of slavery, have again united in bonds more loving and more enduring than ever; just as Scotland and England, after long wars and separate existence, have been united, to the incalculable advantage of both; just as the provinces of Canada have united all the three branches in one Dominion, having had in their own histories experience of the evils and cost of separation, and likewise of the advantages flowing from union. That each should now consider a reunion on a greater scale, and yet only a repetition of what each has already made upon a smaller scale, seems the most natural thing in the world. The residents of any member of the reunited nation will be nearer in time to the common centre than the residents of the north of Scotland were to London at the time of the Union; nearer than the residents of the extremities of the Republic were to Philadelphia when the Federal Union was formed. And in addition to this, the citizen in any part of the new federation, by means of the telegraph, really will sit within the precincts of the Capitol; almost, it might be said, within hearing of the proceedings of the national councils. Properly viewed, the reunion of the Briton, American, and Canadian will be less of a step forward than was the union of Scotland and England, the union of the provinces of Canada, or the American Union, the parts to be reunited by such a federation being in every true sense nearer together, and the new empire more compact, than were

the parts of either of these three unions at the date of their origin.

The means by which reunion is to be accomplished are ready to hand. There is sitting at this moment in Paris a conference composed of delegates from London, Ottawa, and Washington, charged by the three branches of our race to obtain a satisfactory basis for the preservation of the seals in Bering Sea. After their task has been concluded, the same distinguished men, each among the foremost citizens of the respective branches, could meet in London and suggest a basis for restoring the union which only a century ago so happily existed between Britain, Canada, and America, and made them one nation. It would be so easy a task that its very simplicity amazes and renders us incredulous; but most of the important successes and most valuable discoveries have been remarkable for this very feature.

As easy as Le Cling's setting types; as easy as Franklin's drawing the lightning down, as Newton's divining the meaning of a falling apple, or Galileo of a swinging lamp, or Watt the raising of a kettle lid by the force of the escaping steam; as Spencer's survival of the fittest, as Darwin's origin of species, as Columbus' sailing westward, or the making of the American Constitution—the Gordian knot is always easily cut, so easily that the only wonder is that it was not done before. Nothing mysterious, elaborate, or difficult reaches to the root, and changes the face of the world, or the trend of events. The road always lies broad, open, straight, obvious, to all transcendent successes; there is no hidden, tortuous, and narrow path to anything truly great. Some day, therefore, delegates from the three now separated branches will meet in Lon-

don and readily agree upon and report for approval and ratification a basis for the restoration of an indissoluble union of indestructible states.

This may all seem Utopian, but we have had many prophetic voices, concerning both Britain and America, more than fulfilled, which were at the time of their inspired utterance much wilder than anything herein suggested. It may be all a dream, and I but a mere dreamer of dreams. So be it. But if it be true that he who always dreams accomplishes nothing, so also is it none the less true that he who never dreams is equally barren of achievement. And if it be a dream, it is a dream nobler than most realities. If it is never to be realized, none the less it should be realized, and shame to those who come after us if it be not. I believe it will be, for all progress is upon its side. All that tends to the brotherhood of man tends to promote it. The tendency of the age is toward consolidation. We have behind us and with us, urging its consummation, all the mighty forces of civilization. The Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World have already been hailed by the poet, and these mean a step much farther in advance of the proposed reunion of Britain and America than that reunion is in advance of the Canadian Confederation, of the American Union, or of the Union of England and Scotland, all already accomplished.

Readers will kindly note that this is A Look Ahead—how far ahead I shall not attempt to guess; nevertheless *it is ahead*, and some time, somehow, it is to come to pass. I see it with the eye of faith, the faith of the devotee which carries with it a realizing sense of certain fulfilment.

Time may dispel many pleasing illusions and destroy many noble dreams, but it shall never shake my belief

that the wound caused by the wholly unlooked-for and undesired separation of the mother from her child is not to bleed forever.

Let men say what they will, therefore, I say that as surely as the sun in the heavens once shone upon Britain and America united, so surely is it one morning to rise, shine upon, and greet again the reunited state, "The British-American Union."

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